

Gc
974.702
N422st
v.2
1752969

M. L

REYNOLDS HISTORICAL
GENEALOGY COLLECTION

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 1833 02231 1457



870

HISTORY

OF

NEW YORK CITY

V. 20
FROM

THE DISCOVERY

TO

THE PRESENT DAY,

BY

WILLIAM L. STONE,

AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON, BART.";

"LIFE AND WRITINGS OF COL. WM. L. STONE";

ETC., ETC., ETC.

HUMANI NIHIL ALIENUM."

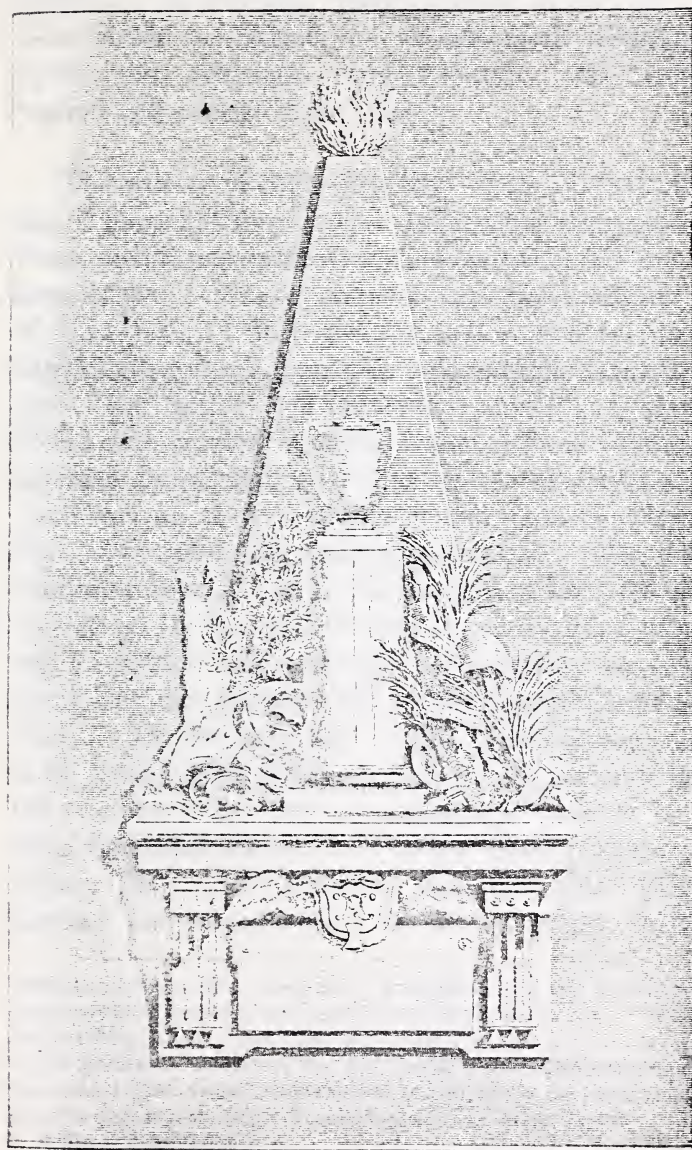
NEW YORK:

VIRTUE & YORSTON,

12 DEY STREET.

1872.

1752969



MONUMENT TO GENERAL MONTGOMERY.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2015

Jackson, at the City Hotel. The ball was attended by the General in person, and was far ahead, in elegance and brilliancy, of anything before known in the city
—so much so, indeed, as to call forth several squibs and criticisms from “*Croaker*,” the celebrated “quiz” and satirist of that day.* 1819.

The winter of 1820-'21, like that of 1817-'18, was one of remarkable severity. Indeed, for many years previous, such intense and steady cold weather had not been known. A newspaper of that day, speaking of this, says: “The weather, after twenty-one days of steady cold, began to moderate on Saturday afternoon (the 20th). On Saturday morning, Long Island Sound was crossed upon the ice from Sand's Point to the opposite shore, distance eight miles. The price of oak wood was up to five dollars a load, Saturday.”† Three days afterwards the same paper states: “The cold still continues intense; both the North and East Rivers were crossed on the ice, and the bay is nearly filled with floating ice, which will probably be closed by another cold night, and our harbor shut up for the first time in forty years.” On the next day: “The North River continues to be crossed with safety on the ice; the distance between the two shores has been measured, and found to be a mile from Cortlandt Street to Powle's Hook (Paulus Hook, Jersey City). The Hoboken ferry-boat, with fifty-seven persons and twenty-three horses on board, drifted, on 1820. 1821.

brilliant uniforms—blue coats, white pantaloons, and tall, waving feathers—which exceeded in richness and elegance all others in the city. “With its gallant cavalier, Colonel James B. Murray, at its head, it was the pride and delight of the beauty and fashion of the city; while it was equally distinguished, on the march in Broadway, in the walks of fashion, and in the gayeties of the ball-room.”—*Recollections of the Seventh Regiment*, by Asher Taylor

* Fitz Greene Halleck.

† *American*, January 22d, 1821.

Wednesday evening, below Governor's Island, and was inclosed in the ice, where she now remains. The people suffered much from the cold during the night, although none were frozen." The same paper, also, of the 27th of January, says: "More than a thousand persons crossed the North River on the ice; produce, of every kind, was taken over in sleds; and hundreds were seen skating in the middle of the river. There came up, also, yesterday, from Staten Island on the ice, a boat and seven men, viz., John Vanderbilt, A. Laurence, William Drake, Lewis Farnham, Robert Davis, and Mr. Wainwright. The mail for Staten Island was yesterday taken down over the ice by Daniel Simonson and Joseph Seguire. Many persons at the same time walked from Long Island to Staten Island,—such a circumstance has not been witnessed before since the year 1780, when heavy ordnance were conveyed on the ice from New York to Staten Island."

This long and severe cold weather caused much suffering among the poor, and led to the establishment of soup-houses, through the generosity of many of the butchers. Collections were also taken up in the churches for the benefit of the suffering, one of which is noticed in a newspaper as amounting to \$2,106.46.*

* *The Market Book*, by Thomas F. Devoe.

CHAPTER V.

IN the successive years of its existence, the City of New York had been visited by war and fire and famine, and now the scourge of pestilence was again to be added. In 1819, the city was visited by yellow-fever, which shortly disappeared, only to return with increased violence in the fall of 1822. Hardie, in his account of the fever at this time, says: "Saturday, the 24th of August, our city presented the appearance of a town besieged. From daybreak till night one line of carts, containing boxes, merchandise, and effects, were seen moving towards 'Greenwich Village' and the upper parts of the city. Carriages and hacks, wagons and horsemen, were scouring the streets and filling the roads; persons, with anxiety strongly marked on their countenances, and with hurried gait, were hustling through the streets. Temporary stores and offices were erecting, and even on the ensuing day (Sunday) carts were in motion, and the saw and hammer busily at work. Within a few days thereafter, the custom-house, the post-office, the banks, the insurance-offices, and the printers of newspapers located themselves in the village, or in the upper part of Broadway, where they were free from the impending danger; and these places almost instantaneously became the seat of the immense business usually carried on in the great

metropolis.* "You cannot conceive," writes Colonel William L. Stone, at that time editor of the *Commercial*

Advertiser, under date of September 26th, 1822, to

his wife, "the distressing situation we are in, and the whole town. The fever is worse every hour. I saw the hearse pass the office an hour ago with seven sick in it. Thus the dead are carried to the grave, and the sick out of town—to die—on the same melancholy-looking carriages." And again, about a month after, he also writes, under date of October 10th, as follows: "As to the fever, I cannot say that it is any better. On the contrary, it rages sadly, and grows worse every hour. There are many sick and dying, especially in the lower parts of the city, who would not move, and the physicians will not visit them. I know several who have died without a physician. Old Mr. Taylor, for instance (Soap and Candles, Maiden Lane), would not move, and is now in his grave." On the 19th of the same month, also, he writes again to his wife: "I believe I told you in my last letter that I did not believe the fever was any better. The result has proved the correctness of what I said. The disease rages with fresh violence, as you will perceive by the reports. When it will please Heaven to cause it to abate, is more than mortal can tell. A severe, nipping frost, I have no doubt, will check it, and I yet hope that we shall be able to remove back by the first of next

* The visits of yellow-fever in 1798, 1799, 1803, and 1805, tended much to increase the formation of a village near the "Spring Street Market," and one, also, near the "State Prison;" but the "fever of 1822" built up many streets, with numerous wooden buildings, for the uses of the merchants, banks (from which Bank Street took its name), offices, &c.; and the celerity of putting up those buildings is better told by the Rev. Mr. Marcellus, who informed me that "he saw corn growing on the present corner of Hammond and Fourth Streets, on a *Saturday* morning, and, on the following *Monday*, 'Sykes & Niblo' had a house erected capable of accommodating three hundred boarders." Even the Brooklyn ferry-boats ran up here daily.—*The Market Book*, by Thomas F. De-
voe.

month." The cold weather of 1822 and 1823, however, did not, as the writer hoped, check the disease; and during the succeeding summer its ravages became so frightful, that all who could, fled the city. 1823.

Business was entirely suspended, and the place presented the appearance literally of a deserted city—with no sounds except the rumbling of the hearses, as, at the dead of night, they passed through the streets to collect the tribute of the grave. By the 2d of November, however, the fever had disappeared; the inhabitants again returned to their homes; the bank and custom-house, which had been removed, during the fever, to Greenwich Village, on the outskirts of the town, moved back to their customary places; and business and social intercourse once more flowed in their accustomed channels.

The two following years were to witness two august celebrations in New York. The first was in the summer of 1824, on the occasion of the visit of General Lafayette to America, in his eighty-sixth year; 1824. and the second was in honor of the completion of the ERIE CANAL, in 1825, by which the waters of Lake Erie were connected with those of the Atlantic.

On Sunday, the 15th of August, General Lafayette, accompanied by his son, George Washington Lafayette, and his secretary, Auguste Le Vasseur, arrived in New York bay in the ship *Cadmus*. As the ship passed through the Narrows a salute was fired from Fort Lafayette, and the national flag was immediately hoisted, and displayed during the day on all the public buildings in the city. On landing at Staten Island, he was conducted to the seat of Daniel D. Tompkins, the Vice-President of the United States, where he spent the day receiving calls.

Lafayette had no idea, nor even a suspicion, of the welcome that awaited him on this side of the Atlantic. At

least such is the inference from an incident told by one of the actors in it to Captain Mayne Reid, by whom, in turn, it was narrated to the author.

Lafayette had left France, after nearly half a century's absence from the United States, and without any intimation that he was to have any public reception in America. The gentleman who gave the relation to Captain Reid—a well-known Boston merchant—chanced to be his fellow-passenger on the voyage, which was made in a Havre packet-ship.*

While crossing the Atlantic, this gentleman had many opportunities of conversing with the French marquis and his son Washington. All knew that our old ally, though a nobleman, was not rich; and in his conversations with his fellow-passengers he showed himself very solicitous as to his pecuniary means, making many inquiries about the prices of living and traveling in America, and seemed very anxious on this account, as if fearing that his purse might not be sufficient for a very extended tour of travel through the United States. Indeed, the Americans who were aboard the packet, having been long absent from their country, had themselves no idea of the grand honors in store for their distinguished fellow-passenger. The gentleman admitted that he himself had no conception of what was to happen, and did occur, on this side. Feeling an interest in Lafayette, he had invited him and his son, in the event of their visiting Boston, to make his house their home.

In due time the French packet came in sight of the American coast, and lay to at Sandy Hook, waiting for a

* The Congress of the United States, some months before, upon learning that it was the intention of Lafayette to visit this country, had unanimously passed a resolution inviting him to our shores, and directed that a *national* ship should be held in readiness for his conveyance whenever it would suit his convenience to embark. This honor, however, the marquis declined, and took passage from Havre for New York on the 13th of July, 1824.

favorable wind to enter the Bay of New York. Near the Narrows she was boarded by a row-boat, in which were two gentlemen in plain civilian dress; who, after holding a private conference with the captain, again re-entered their boat and put off. No one aboard the packet, except the skipper himself, knew to what the conference related.

After passing through the Narrows, and coming alongside of Staten Island, the French ship cast anchor. This was a surprise to the passengers, who supposed they were going directly to the city. They were consequently chagrined at being thus delayed after their long sea-voyage; and many were heard to murmur at it. While in this mood, they observed a long line of vessels coming down the bay. There were steam-boats, and sailing craft of all kinds, forming a considerable fleet. They were following one another, with manned yards and flags flying, and bands of music (entirely impromptu), as if upon some gala procession. The passengers on board the French packet were surprised—Lafayette not the least.

"What does it mean?" asked the marquis.

No one could make answer.

"Some grand anniversary of your republic, *messieurs*," was the conjecture of Lafayette.

About noon, the gayly-decked vessels approached; and it was seen that they were all making for the French ship, around which they soon clustered. Presently, one of the steam-boats came alongside, and a number of gentlemen, dressed in official costume, stepped on board of the *Cadmus*. Among them were General Morton, the Mayor of the city, and several members of the Common Council. Not until they had been some time on the deck of the packet, and her captain had introduced them to the General Marquis de Lafayette, did the modest old soldier know that a grand ceremonial was preparing for himself. The tears fell fast from his eyes as he received their congratu-

lations; and, on shaking hands with his fellow-passenger, the Boston merchant, at parting, he said:

"*Monsieur*, I shall love New York so well, I may never be able to get away from it to pay you a visit in Boston. *Pardieu!* This grand republique—this great people!"

The object of this early visit upon the marquis, before he had landed, was to exchange greetings, and communicate to him informally the plan that had been made for his reception on the next day. The following arrangements were published in the morning papers of Monday:

ARRANGEMENTS OF THE CORPORATION FOR THE RECEPTION OF THE
MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

The committee of arrangements of the Corporation have the pleasure to announce to their fellow-citizens the arrival of the distinguished guest of their country, the Marquis de Lafayette.

The following are the arrangements made for his reception in the city:

The committee of arrangements of the Corporation, the generals and other officers of the United States Army, the officers of the navy, the major-generals and the brigadier-generals of the militia, the President of the Chamber of Commerce, and the committee from the Society of Cincinnati, will proceed, at nine o'clock this morning, the 16th, to Staten Island, where the marquis is lodged, and escort him to the city. They will be accompanied to the Battery by the steam-boats, all with decorations, except that in which the marquis is embarked, which will only have the flag of the United States and the State flag of New York, bands of music being on each. The embarkation of the marquis will be announced by a salute from Fort Lafayette and the steam-ship Robert Fulton. The forts in the harbor will also salute as the boats pass.

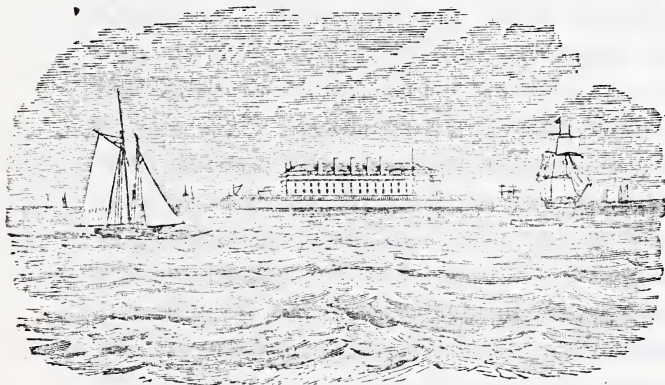
The masters of vessels are requested to hoist their flags at mast-head, and, when convenient, to dress their vessels.

The bells of the city will be rung from twelve to one o'clock. The committee request that no carriages or horses, excepting those attached to the military and the procession, appear south of Chambers on Broadway, Market-field Street or Whitehall Street, between the hours of eleven and two.

The portrait-room in the City Hall is appointed to the use of the marquis, where, during his stay, he will, after this day, between the hours of twelve and two, receive the visits of such of the citizens as are desirous of paying their respects to him.

In accordance with this programme, about half-past twelve o'clock, the entire naval procession got under way, and proceeded to the city. The embarkation at Staten Island was announced by a salute from the shore, which

was responded to by Fort Lafayette, and by the steam-ship *Robert Fulton*. The beauty and interest of the scene which the vessels afforded to the thousands of spectators, who were viewing it from the Battery, can be better imagined than described. The steam-boat *Chancellor Livingston*, with her venerable passenger, was escorted up the bay by the splendid steam-ship *Robert Fulton*, manned by two hundred United States sailors from the Navy Yard, and the steam-boats *Oliver Ellsworth*, *Connecticut*, *Olive Branch*, and *Nautilus*, each having on board a large party of ladies



FORT LAFAYETTE.

and gentlemen and a band of music ; the whole forming, as they approached the city, one of the most imposing and splendid of aquatic spectacles. The lofty appearance of the steam-ship *Robert Fulton*, as she proudly “walked the waters,” leading the van of the procession,—her yards manned by sailors, and elegantly dressed from the water to the tops of her masts with the flags and signals of all nations,—presented a sight which was never forgotten by those who witnessed it. The ship *Cadmus*, towed by the steam-boats, brought up the rear, her towering spars decorated in the most elegant and fanciful manner with flags and signals. “She moved majestically, as if con-

scious of the veneration which was being testified for the noble patriot *she* had conveyed to our shores." As the procession passed Governor's Island, a salute was fired from Castle William.

On arriving in the city, the marquis landed at Castle Garden on a carpeted stairs prepared for the occasion, and under an arch richly decorated with flags and wreaths of laurel. On stepping ashore, a major-general's salute was fired from a battery of field-artillery, a national salute from the revenue-cutter, and from the United States brig *Shark*, at anchor off the Battery, and one from Fort Columbus. Upon entering Castle Garden, the marquis was greeted with loud and prolonged cheers from the assembled thousands, and salutations from a large number of the early friends of his youth; thence he proceeded with the committee and the military and naval officers to review the troops drawn up in line under the command of Major-General Benedict. The muster was, on this occasion, unusually full and splendid, each corps vying with the other in paying a tribute of respect to the Soldier of the Revolution,—the friend and companion of Washington. After the review, the marquis entered a barouche drawn by four horses, and was driven up Broadway to the City Hall. The houses to the roofs were lined with spectators, and to the incessant huzzas of the multitude, graceful females signified their welcome by the silent, but not less grateful and affecting, testimony of the waving of handkerchiefs. Never, on any previous occasion, had there been witnessed such a universal assemblage of the beauty, fashion, and splendor of the city.

Upon arriving at the City Hall, the marquis was conducted to the Common Council chamber, where the Corporation were assembled. The members rose at his entrance, and their chairman, Alderman Zabriskie, introduced him to the Mayor, who welcomed the city's guest in an appro-

priate speech. At its conclusion Lafayette responded as follows :

" SIR,—While I am so affectionately received by the citizens of New York and their worthy Representatives, I feel myself overwhelmed with inexpressible emotions. The sight of the American shore, after so long an absence; the recollection of the many respected friends and dear companions no more to be found on this land; the pleasure to recognize those who survive, this immense concourse of a free Republican population who so kindly welcome me; the admirable appearance of the troops, the presence of a corps of the national navy,—have excited sentiments to which no human language can be adequate. You have been pleased, sir, to allude to the happiest times, to the unalloyed enjoyments of my public life; it is the pride of my life to have been one of the earliest adopted sons of America. I am proud, also, to add that, upward of forty years ago, I have been particularly honored with the freedom of this city. I beg you, Mr. Mayor, I beg you, gentlemen, to accept yourselves, and to transmit to the citizens of New York, the homage of my everlasting gratitude, devotion, and respect."

At the conclusion of this address, which was received with most enthusiastic demonstrations, the marquis, attended by the Mayor and Common Council, retired from the Council chamber to a platform in front of the City Hall, where they received a marching salute from the troops. The Common Council then accompanied their guest to the City Hotel (where rooms had been fitted up for his reception), and partook of a sumptuous dinner. What must have been the feelings which warmed the bosoms of his entertainers when they reflected to whom these honors were given! that it was to a man, who, in his youth, devoted his life and fortune to the cause of their country; who willingly shed his blood in the acquirement of its independence, and, through all the desponding scenes of the Revolution, never forsook the side of his and their country's Father, the beloved WASHINGTON!

In the evening, the front of the City Hotel, the City Hall, and other buildings were handsomely illuminated; the theaters and public gardens displayed transparencies and fireworks; rockets blazed from the different house-

tops; and an immense balloon was sent up from Castle Garden, representing the famous horse Eclipse mounted by an ancient knight in armor. General hilarity reigned supreme.

On the afternoon of Wednesday, the 18th, General Lafayette, with his son, visited the Navy Yard (dining with the commandant and a few invited guests), and, in the evening of the same day, the rooms of the New York



NAVY YARD, BROOKLYN.

Historical Society. A large number of distinguished citizens had collected at the latter place to meet him; and, on his entrance into the room, he was conducted by Doctor Hosack and General Philip Van Cortlandt to the chair that had once been the seat of the unfortunate Louis XVI.* Over the chair, and decorated with Revolutionary emblems, was hung the portrait of Lafayette, painted for General Stevens in 1784. Thus was an

* Presented to the New York Historical Society by Gouverneur Morris.

opportunity afforded the audience of gazing at once upon the young and chivalrous warrior of the Revolution, and upon the same man, who, by forty years' hard service since, had ripened into a good old age, full of wisdom and honors, and without, by a single act, having tarnished the bright escutcheon of his fame.

As soon as Lafayette had taken his seat, Doctor Hosack, in a graceful address, tendered him his election as an honorary member of the society. To which the General responded in the following words :

"SIR,—With the most lively gratitude, I receive the honor which the Historical Society of New York have conferred in electing me one of its members.

"Permit me, also, thankfully to acknowledge the flattering manner in which you are pleased to announce this mark of their benevolence.

"The United States, sir, are the first nation in the records of history who have founded their Constitution upon an honest investigation, and clear definition of their national and social rights.

"Nor can we doubt, that, notwithstanding the combinations made elsewhere by despotism and aristocracy against those sacred rights of mankind, immense majorities in other countries shall not in vain observe the happiness and prosperity of a free, virtuous, and enlightened people."

The next day was spent in visiting the Academy of Arts, and in receiving the calls of the members of the bar, the French residents of the city, and all citizens who desired to pay their respects.

At an early hour on the following day the city again presented a scene of bustle and activity, preparatory to the departure of General Lafayette and suite for Boston. At seven o'clock, the horse artillery, commanded by Colonel Arcularius, paraded in Broadway in front of Washington Hall, and, at eight o'clock, took up their line of march to Harlem, in order to supersede the escort which was to accompany the marquis to that village. This escort consisted of a squadron of cavalry, the Corporation in carriages, and a number of citizens mounted. The General breakfasted with the Mayor, Philip Hone, at

half-past seven, and repaired immediately after to the City Hotel, whence the entire cavalcade under the command of General Prosper M. Wetmore, as Brigade-Major, moved up Broadway to Bond Street, and thence up Third Avenue. The streets were thronged with people, and the General rode uncovered, and repeatedly returned their expressions of kindness and attachment by bowing. "Thus, for the present," said the *Commercial Advertiser*, "have closed the attentions of our citizens to this excellent man. The arrangements of our civil and military officers were judicious and well executed; and we are told that the General has not only been highly gratified, but happily disappointed, in the reception with which he has met. The General's journey will be rapid, as he intends being at Harvard commencement on Tuesday next. His stay at the eastward must also be short, as he has engaged to be in Baltimore on the 15th proximo."*

* At this time there was a great rivalry between Philadelphia and New York, as to which city should receive the marquis most splendidly. A correspondent, writing from Philadelphia to the *Commercial Advertiser* at this time, says: "The great object here seems to be, to rival the reception given to the General in New York; and, so far as it respects the military parade, the display of paintings, banners, arches, &c., they will succeed; for the very good reason that we had but twenty-four hours to make our preparations, and they have had more than thirty-four days. But nothing that can be got up here can equal, or come anywhere near, the naval *fête* in the harbor of New York.

"There are many splendid triumphal and civic arches erected here, and the streets through which the General is to pass are lined with spectators. The windows of the houses are filled, and there are thousands of spectators in the boxes, or temporary stages, which have been erected for the purposes of public accommodation and private gain. These seats are let at from twenty-five to fifty cents each, and not for three or four dollars, as has been reported in New York. And they are not well filled, notwithstanding the trifling expense. There are many societies out to-day, handsomely dressed; and the procession will be much larger than has ever been witnessed in America.

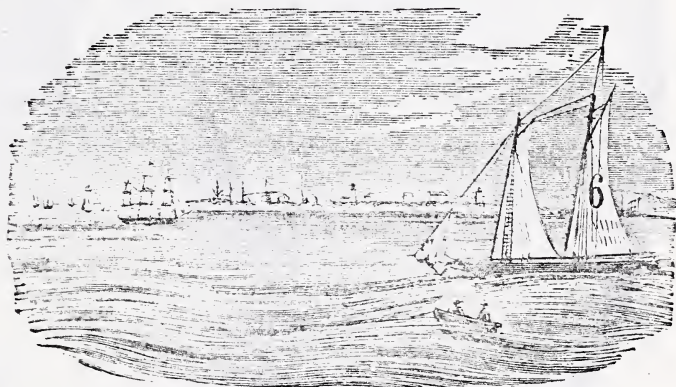
"It is supposed that the General will arrive at the Hall of the Declaration of Independence at about four o'clock. Here he will be received by the Corporation, and presented to the principal citizens, who have the good fortune to be guests. After which he will return to his lodgings at the Mansion House. To-morrow, the General dines with the Corporation. On Saturday, he attends a Masonic festival. On Monday evening, he attends a Grand Civic Ball, and departs for the South on Tuesday."

"Such," writes Colonel Stone, in closing an account of the ovation, "is a faint outline of the proceedings of the last few days, which shine proudly in the annals of our country,—proceedings which were more brilliant than any that had ever been witnessed in America, and which will rarely, if ever, be equaled. They were proud days for the cause of enlightened and liberal principles. No fulsome adulation was here extorted by the power or splendor of royalty, but every feeling and every movement were the spontaneous bursts of admiration and gratitude for the character and services of a great benefactor of the whole civilized world, come among us in a private capacity, and in the unaffected attire of Republican simplicity."

It was most fitting that the city which had so nobly supported the project of the Erie Canal from the beginning should take the chief part in the ceremonies attending its realization. Probably no project of internal improvement ever met with such bitter and malignant opposition as that of the Erie Canal; and, great as was the assistance given to the canal project by the Act of the New York Legislature of April, 1811, the obstacles in the way of its successful completion were by no means removed. The same incredulity as to the practicability of the canal, and the same apprehensions as to the capacity of the State, continued to raise a fierce opposition in the Legislature against any appropriation for carrying out the work which it had itself authorized. Many attempts were accordingly made to arrest, or at least curtail and arrest, the project; and often during the progress of the undertaking it seemed as if it would be utterly abandoned. Party spirit at that time ran high, and the greatest effort on the part of its supporters was required to persuade the people of the State to give it their support at the polls. In accomplishing this result, the Com-

1825.

mercial Advertiser, the oldest paper of New York city, gave powerful aid. That paper, which had always been the organ of the Federalists, became, upon Colonel Stone's assuming its management, in 1820, a staunch advocate of the Clintonians. A strong personal friendship for Mr. Clinton on the part of its editor, together with a firm conviction of the necessity for a canal through the interior of New York State, led to the position thus assumed. The trials and rebuffs experienced by Governor Clinton and his supporters in pushing the canal project, and the energy

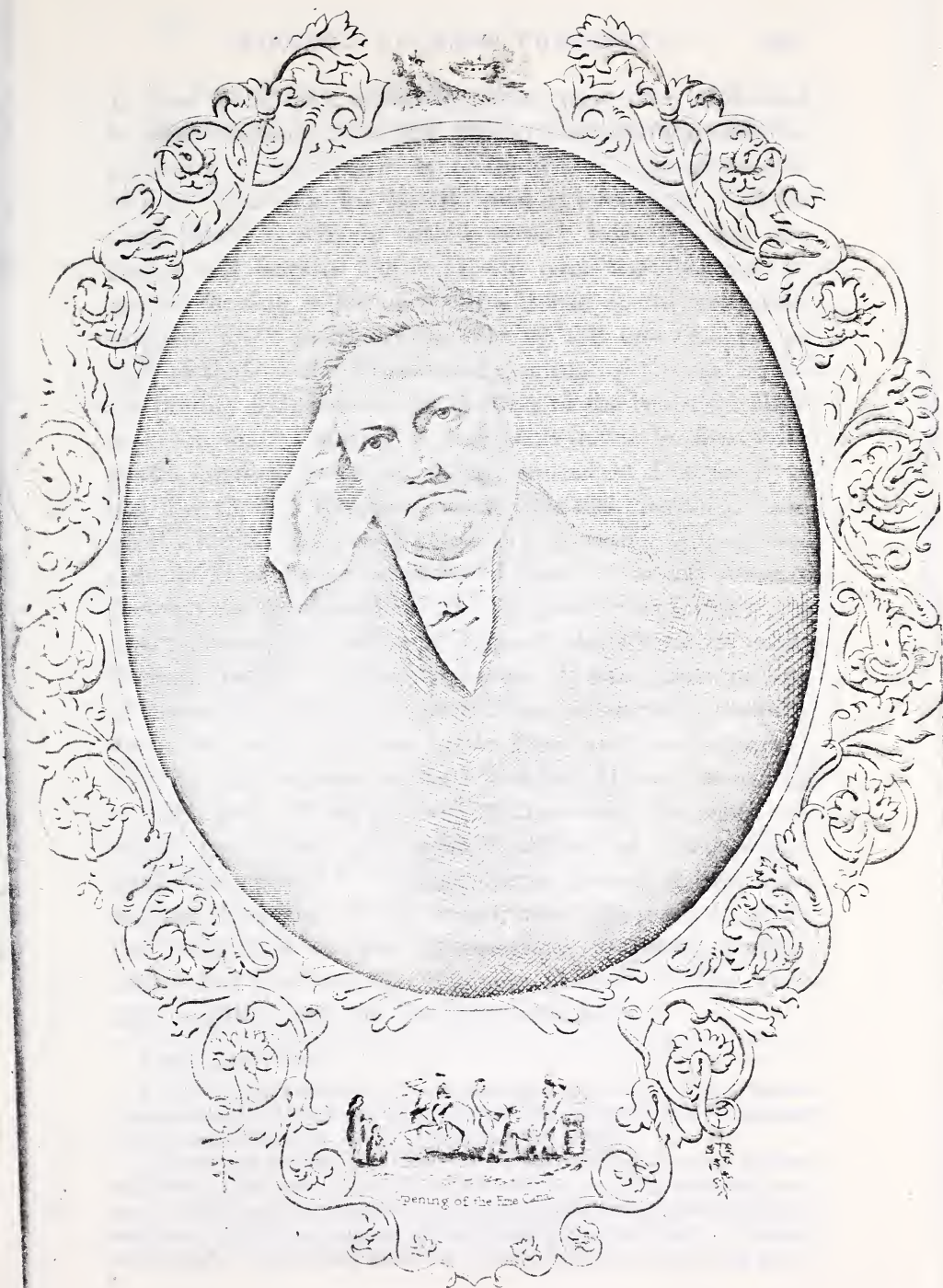


SANDY HOOK, FROM THE SHIP CHANNEL.

which fought it through to a triumphant end, are matters of history. The Erie Canal was completed in the fall of

1825. At ten o'clock on the morning of the 26th

of October of the same year, the first canal-boat, the *Seneca Chief*, left Buffalo, having on board Governor Clinton, Joshua Foreman, Colonel Stone, Chancellor Livingston, Thurlow Weed, and General Stephen Van Rensselaer; and the booming of cannon, placed at intervals of a few miles along the entire line of the canal from Buffalo to Albany, and thence along the banks of the Hudson to Sandy Hook, announced the successful termination of the enterprise



DeWitt Clinton

In New York city, especially, this event was celebrated by extraordinary civic and military ceremonies, and the citizens gave themselves up to the wildest demonstrations of joy. Nor was this joy ill-timed or excessive. "For a single State to achieve such a victory, not only over the doubts and fears of the wary, but over the obstacles of nature, causing miles of massive rocks at the mountain ridge to yield to its power, turning the tide of error as well as that of the Tonnewanda, piling up the waters of the mighty Niagara as well as those of the beautiful Hudson;—in short, causing a navigable river to flow with gentle current down the steepy mount of Lockport; to leap the river of Genesee; to encircle the brow of Irondequoit as with the laurel's wreath; to march through the rich fields of Palmyra and of Lyons; to wend its way through the quicksands of the morass at the Cayuga; to pass unheeded the delicious licks at Onondaga; to smile through Oneida's verdant landscape; to hang upon the arm of the ancient Mohawk, and with her, after gayly stepping down the cadence of the Little Falls and the Cohoes, to rush to the embrace of the sparkling Hudson,—and all in the space of eight short years,—was the work of which the oldest and richest nations of Christendom might be proud." * Colonel Stone, as one of the most zealous champions of the canal, was appointed to write the *NARRATIVE OF THE CELEBRATION*, receiving a silver medal and box from the Common Council of New York city, together with the thanks of that body.†

* Stone's *Narrative*.

† Colonel Stone's narrative of the celebration was published by the Common Council under the title of the *GRAND ERIE CANAL CELEBRATION*, accompanied by a memoir of the great work by Cadwallader D. Colden.

In connection with the Erie Canal and its influence in building up the interior towns of the State, Colonel Stone was wont to relate the following anecdote: In 1820, he visited Syracuse with Joshua Foreman, the founder of that city and one of the earliest and most zealous friends of the Erie Canal. "I lodged for the night," says Colonel Stone, "at a miserable tavern, thronged by a com-

The naval and land processions in the city on this occasion were so unique, and, withal, were projected and carried out on such a magnificent scale, that we quote the following description from Stone's *Narrative*, a work which is now rare and difficult to obtain :

"The long-expected fourth of November—a day so glorious for the city and State—with all its 'pomp and circumstance,' came and passed; and the incidents, like the fragments of a splendid vision, are yet floating, in bright and glowing masses, through the imagination. But the pageant was too brilliant, and the scenes too various, for the memory to retain more than certain vague impressions, no less beautiful than indistinct. Those who saw the magnificent scene will at once admit that it cannot be painted in language; and those who had not that happiness must content themselves with the assurance, that the best endeavors of the writer to convey to them an adequate idea of its grandeur will fail. The poet, by giving full sway to his imagination, may perhaps partially succeed in conveying the various impressions imbibed on the occasion, and some detached parts of the scene might possibly be used to advantage by the painter who unites skill with genius. But we repeat, that the narrative, in humble prose, will fall short of a just representation.

"The grand fleet arrived in our waters from Albany before daylight, and came to anchor near the State Prison.

pany of salt-boilers from Salina, forming a group of about as rough-looking specimens of humanity as I had ever seen. Their wild visages, beards thick and long, and matted hair, even now rise up in dark, distant, and picturesque effect before me. It was in October, and a flurry of snow during the night had rendered the morning aspect of the country more dreary than the evening before. The few houses, standing upon low and marshy ground, and surrounded by trees and tangled thickets, presented a very uninviting scene. 'Mr. Foreman,' said I, 'do you call this a village?' It would make an owl weep to fly over it.' 'Never mind,' said he, in reply, 'you will like to see it a city yet!'" Colonel Stone did, indeed, live to see it a city, when he wrote the above in 1840, with a mayor and aldermen, and a population of more than twelve thousand souls

The roar of cannon from different points, and the merry peals of our numerous bells, greeted the sun as he rose in a cloudless sky. In a few moments afterwards, signals were given by the flag-ship, and the various flags, banners, and other decorations, were run up as if at the sudden command of a magician. Shortly afterwards, the new and superb steam-boat *Washington*. Captain E. S. Bunker, bore proudly down upon the fleet, heaving up the foaming billows as though she spurned the dominion of Neptune. In the language of the Noble Bard,

‘She walked the waters like a thing of life,
And dared the very elements to strife.’

She bore the great banner of the Corporation, representing, in dark figures, the arms of the city upon a snow-white ground. The *Washington* was an entirely new boat, chartered for the occasion, of large dimensions, beautiful model, and superbly finished throughout—uniting all the improvements in steam-boat architecture. The design of the taffrail represented the renown of Washington and Lafayette. The center was a trophy of various emblems—the laurel and the olive—standards—swords—the balance—the caduceus of Mercury, &c. The trophy was surmounted with a bald eagle. Each side of it was decorated with a bust—on the right, that of Washington; on the left, the bust of Lafayette. The former was crowned with the civic wreath and the laurel—the latter with the laurel only. The genius of America was crowning her hero, and the spirit of Independence, waving the flaming torch, binding the brow of Lafayette. Each of these figures was attended with emblematic medallions of Agriculture and Commerce. The whole was based on a section of the globe, and the background was a glory from the trophy. The corners of the taffrail were each filled with a cornucopia, which gracefully completed the design, on which neither painting nor gilding had been spared to enhance the effect. She ran

alongside of the *Chancellor*, and a Committee of the Corporation, with the officers of the Governor's Guard, came on board to tender his Excellency their congratulations on his arrival in our waters from those of Lake Erie. In performing this duty, Alderman Cowdrey made a handsome and pertinent address, in behalf of the Common Council, to which his Excellency made a reply in behalf of himself and his associates in the great work, and the several persons and bodies who had been welcomed to the shores and waters of New York, and to whom the hospitalities of the city had been so cheerfully tendered. To the officers of the Guards, headed by Colonel Brett, the Governor also expressed his gratitude and thanks for their prompt attention on the occasion.

"This duty having been performed, and there being an hour to spare, the several boats entered their respective docks, and came to anchor at the places assigned them, to give their numerous passengers an opportunity to prepare for the enjoyments of the day, agreeably to their various inclinations.

"The escorting fleet got under way, and passed the British sloops-of-war *Swallow*, Captain Baldock, and *Kingfisher*, Captain Henderson, dressed for the occasion, and bearing the American flag in company with the cross of St. George. A salute was fired from these ships, which was returned from the fleet.

"Not the least pleasing of this morning scene was the packet-ship *Hamlet*, Captain Candler, prepared by the Marine and Nautical Societies, appearing at sunrise in the North River, superbly dressed in the flags of various nations, interspersed with private signals, and the number-flags of the different members. She made a most splendid appearance during the whole day. At eight o'clock, these societies met on board the steam-boat *Fulton*, Captain R. Bunker, lying at Fulton Street Wharf (East River), and

were conveyed on board of the ship, where Captain J. G. Collins, assisted by his officers, took the command. Commodore Chauncey politely sent an officer and twenty men from the Navy Yard, to assist in the duties of the ship. And before they landed, an excellent collation, prepared for the occasion by the joint committees of the two societies, was spread, of which all on board partook—to the number of one hundred and twenty-five.

“At half-past eight o'clock, the Corporation and their invited guests assembled in the Sessions Room at the City Hall, and at a quarter before nine proceeded to the steam-boats *Washington*, *Fulton*, and *Providence*, stationed at the foot of Whitehall Street. At the same place was also stationed the *Commerce*, Captain Seymour, with the elegant safety-barge, *Lady Clinton*. This barge, with the *Lady Van Rensselaer*, had been set apart by the Corporation for the reception of the invited ladies, with their attendants. The *Lady Clinton* was decorated with a degree of taste and elegance which was equally delightful and surprising. From stem to stern she was ornamented with evergreens hung in festoons and intertwined with roses of various hues, China asters, and many other flowers alike beautiful. In one of the niches below the upper deck was the bust of Clinton, the brow being encircled with a wreath of laurel and roses. Mrs. Clinton, as well as many other distinguished ladies, was on board of the barge, which, though the party was select, was much crowded. Captain Seymour, however, paid every attention to his beautiful charge; every countenance beamed with satisfaction and every eye sparkled with delight.

“A few minutes after nine o'clock, the entire party being on board, the fleet from Albany, as before mentioned, led by the flag-ship of the Admiral, came round from the North and proceeded up the East River to the Navy Yard, where salutes were fired, and the sloop-of-war

Cyane was dressed in the colors of all nations. While here, the flag-ship took on board the officers of that station, together with their fine band of music. The officers stationed at West Point, with the celebrated band from that place, having been received on board on the preceding evening, were likewise on board of the *Chancellor Livingston*. On returning from the Navy Yard, the steamboat *Ousatonic*, of Derby, joined the fleet. The wharves and shores of Brooklyn, the Heights, and the roofs of many of the buildings, were crowded with people to an extent little anticipated, and only exceeded by the thick masses of population which lined the shores of New York as far as Corlaer's Hook. The fleet, having arrived between the east end of the Battery and Governor's Island, was joined by the ship *Hamlet*, before mentioned. While the commander was signaling the various vessels, and they were maneuvering about to take their stations, the spectacle was beautiful beyond measure. Long before this time, however, our city had been pouring forth its thousands and tens of thousands; Castle Garden, the Battery, and every avenue to the water, were thronged to a degree altogether beyond precedent. The ships and vessels in the harbor were filled, even to their rigging and tops. And the movements in forming the order of the aquatic procession gave opportunity to all to observe the several vessels in every advantageous and imposing situation. Loud cheers resounded from every direction, which were often returned. Everything being in readiness, and every boat crowded to the utmost, the fleet, taking a semicircular sweep toward Jersey City, and back obliquely in the direction of the lower point of Governor's Island, proceeded down the bay in the order detailed in the official report of the Admiral, each boat and ship maintaining the distance of one hundred feet apart.

"The ship *Hamlet* was taken in tow by the *Oliver Ells-*

worth and *Bolivar*, and assumed and maintained its place in splendid style. Four pilot-boats were also towed by other steam-boats, together with the following boats of Whitehall watermen, all tastefully decorated, viz.: *The Lady of the Lake*, *Dispatch*, *Express*, *Brandywine*, *Sylph*, *Active*, and *Whitehall, Junior*.

"The sea was tranquil and smooth as the summer lake; and the mist which came on between seven and eight in the morning having partially floated away, the sun shone bright and beautiful as ever. As the boats passed the Battery they were saluted by the military, the revenue-cutters, and the castle on Governor's Island; and, on passing the Narrows, they were also saluted by Forts Lafayette and Tompkins. They then proceeded to the United States schooner *Porpoise*, Captain Zantzinger, moored within Sandy Hook, at the point where the grand ceremony was to be performed. A deputation, composed of Aldermen King and Taylor, was then sent on board the steam-boat *Chancellor Livingston*, to accompany his Excellency the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor, and the several committees from Buffalo, Utica, Albany, and other places, on board the steam-boat *Washington*.

"The boats were thereupon formed in a circle around the schooner, preparatory to the ceremony; when Mr. Rhind, addressing the Governor, remarked 'that he had a request to make which he was confident it would afford his Excellency great pleasure to grant. He was desirous of preserving a portion of the water used on this memorable occasion, in order to send it to our distinguished friend and late illustrious visitor, Major-General Lafayette; and, for that purpose, Messrs. Dunmire & Co. had prepared some bottles of American fabric for the occasion, and they were to be conveyed to the General in a box made by Mr. D. Phyfe from a log of cedar brought from Erie in the *Seneca Chief*.' The Governor replied that a more pleasing

task could not have been imposed upon him, and expressed his acknowledgment to Mr. Rhind for having suggested the measure.

"His Excellency, Governor Clinton, then proceeded to perform the ceremony of commingling the waters of the Lake with the Ocean, by pouring a keg of those of Lake Erie into the Atlantic; upon which he delivered the following address:

" 'This solemnity, at this place, on the first arrival of vessels from Lake Erie, is intended to indicate and commemorate the navigable communication which has been accomplished between our Mediterranean Seas and the Atlantic Ocean in about eight years, to the extent of more than four hundred and twenty-five miles, by the wisdom, public spirit, and energy of the people of the State of New York; and may the God of the Heavens and the Earth smile most propitiously on this work, and render it subservient to the best interests of the human race.'

"Dr. Mitchell, whose extensive correspondence with almost every part of the world enables him to fill his cabinet with everything rare and curious, then completed the ceremony by pouring into the briny deep bottles of water from the Ganges and Indus of Asia; the Nile and the Gambia of Africa; the Thames, the Seine, the Rhine, and the Danube of Europe; the Mississippi and Columbia of North, and the Orinoko, La Plata, and Amazon, of South America. The Hon. Cadwallader D. Colden then presented to the Mayor an able Memoir upon the subject of Canals and Inland Navigation in general.

"Never before was there such a fleet collected, and so superbly decorated; and it is very possible that a display so grand, so beautiful, and we may even add, sublime, will never be witnessed again. We know of nothing with which it can be compared. The naval *fête* given by the Prince Regent of England, upon the Thames, during the

visit of the Allied Sovereigns of Europe to London, after the dethronement of Napoleon, has been spoken of as exceeding everything of the kind hitherto witnessed in Europe. But gentlemen who had an opportunity of witnessing both, have declared that the spectacle in the waters of New York so far transcended that in the metropolis of England as scarcely to admit of a comparison. The day, as we have before remarked, was uncommonly fine. No winds agitated the surface of the mighty deep; and during the performance of the ceremonies, the boats, with their gay decorations, lay motionless in beauty. The orb of day darted his genial rays upon the bosom of the waters, where they played as tranquilly as upon the natural mirror of a secluded lake. Indeed, the elements seemed to repose, as if to gaze upon each other, and participate in the beauty and grandeur of the sublime spectacle. Every object appeared to pause, as if to invite reflection and prepare the mind for deep impressions—impressions which, while we feel them stealing upon the soul, impart a consciousness of their durability. It was one of those few bright visions whose evanescent glory is allowed to light up the path of human life—which, as they are passing, we feel can never return; and which, in diffusing a sensation of pleasing melancholy, consecrates, as it were, all surrounding objects, even to the atmosphere we inhale.

“While the fleet was here at anchor, a deputation from the members of the Assembly from different parts of the State, who were on board one of the steam-boats as guests of the Corporation, preceded by Clarkson Crolius, Esq., their Speaker, paid a visit to the *Seneca Chief*, to reciprocate congratulations with the Buffalo committee on the completion of the Grand Canal, to which the Legislature, of whom they were members, had made the last and finishing appropriation.

“Everything being made ready for returning to the

city, salutes were fired from the revenue-cutter, the pilot-boats, several of the steam-boats, and from the 'Young Lion of the West,' who, having prepared himself with a pair of brazen lungs at Rochester, often mingled his roar with that of the artillery with which he was saluted on his passage down. While passing up the Narrows, the passengers on board of the different boats partook of elegant collations. The Corporation, with their guests, dined on board of the the *Washington*, the Mayor presiding, assisted by Aldermen King and Taylor.

"When approaching the British armed vessels before mentioned, the latter fired another salute. In consequence of this compliment, a signal was immediately made from the flag-ship, and the whole squadron passed round them in a circle. The United States schooner *Porpoise* manned her yards and gave the Britons three cheers, which were returned. While performing this circular maneuver, the British bands struck up 'Yankee Doodle'; in return for which act of courtesy, the American bands, as they passed the other side, successively played 'God Save the King.' Another circumstance connected with these demonstrations of good feeling must not be omitted: On board of the *Swallow* an elegant breakfast was given, in honor of the occasion, by her commander, Lieutenant Baldock, to a numerous company of ladies and gentlemen, on which occasion was tastefully displayed a series of elegant and appropriate drawings, in water-colors, representing Britannia, Columbia, the Eagle, the Lion, and an English and American Sailor, Neptune, Liberty, and the flags and shields of both nations, all classically arranged, denoting good feeling, fellowship, and union of sentiment. There were also round one of the devices for a tower two designs of canal-basins, with double locks—one as coming through Welsh mountains, the other as through American mountains of granite; and on their basements were conspicu-

ously inscribed 'CLINTON' and 'BRIDGEWATER,' in honor of men whose pursuits in each country were so similar. The whole was designed by J. R. Smith, and executed by him and an assistant.

"One reflection occurred to us when the fleet was below the Narrows, which, although it has no immediate relation to the time or the occasion, it may not be amiss to mention. When we viewed the number and tonnage of the steam-boats employed, and the countless multitude of passengers borne upon their spacious decks, we could not but reflect upon the facilities of defense which, by means of steam navigation, our city would possess in the event of hostilities with any maritime power, and an attempt upon our lives and property from this direction. There were out upon this occasion, besides other craft of magnitude, no less than twenty-nine steam-boats, each capable of carrying from twelve to twenty-four guns, and from one to five hundred men. And from the readiness with which this force assembled, and from the rapid multiplication of vessels of this description with the increase of business in our metropolis, there is no doubt that even at the present moment fifty boats, with ten thousand men and six or seven hundred guns, might be collected, prepared, and sent to repel an approaching naval armament, in one or, at most, two days. Neither winds nor tides could stay their progress, or control their movements. They could choose their own time, position, and points of attack; and tremendous must be the power that could successfully oppose, and superhuman the skill that could baffle, an expedition of this kind, directed by the hand of valor and sustained by the unconquerable spirit of freemen!

"The head of the land procession, under Major-General Fleming, marshal of the day, assisted by Colonels King and Jones, Major Low, and Mr. Van Winkle, had already arrived on the Battery, where it was designed the whole

should pass in review before the Corporation and their guests, and the spectators on board of the other boats, which lay to near the shore, to afford an opportunity of witnessing the cars, and banners, and other decorations of the several societies, professions, and callings, who had turned out in the city in honor of the event commemorated. The *Washington* and *Chancellor Livingston* ran into the Pier No. 1, in the East River, and landed the Corporation and their friends at the proper time for them to fall into the rear of the procession. The fleet then dispersed, each vessel repairing to its own moorings; and thus, without a single accident to alloy the festivities of the day, ended an agreeable *fête*, unrivaled in beauty and magnificence, we fearlessly aver, in the annals of the world.

"This narrative would probably be considered incomplete, were it not to include a notice of that part of the pageant which was exclusively confined to the city. And yet a minute description can hardly be deemed necessary, since the ample official report of the marshal of the day is included among the papers collected in this volume. To be as brief as possible, therefore, we will state, in general terms, that the procession through the city, although it could not, from the very nature of things, present to the eye the bright and glowing images which ravished the senses upon the water, was yet such as to reflect the highest credit upon our city, the societies, and individuals, whose patriotism induced them to bear a part, and the occasion which called them forth.

"The civic procession was composed of the several benevolent and mechanic societies of our city; the fire department; the merchants and citizens; the officers of the State artillery and infantry, in uniform; the literary and scientific institutions; the members of the bar; the members of many occupations and callings not formally organized into societies, accompanied by fine bands of

music, exclusively of the Corporation, their associate committees and distinguished guests, who fell in the rear of the procession, as before mentioned, at the Battery. This procession, the largest of the kind ever witnessed in America, commenced forming in Greenwich Street, six abreast, at nine o'clock A. M.—the right resting in Market-field Street, near the Battery, and extending to the distance of more than a mile and a half. The line of march was taken up at half-past ten. Its first movement was a counter-march of the whole column upon the right wing. By this maneuver, every society and division was brought into such close approximation with each other as to afford every individual a distinct view of the whole. The procession moved from Greenwich Street through Canal Street into Broadway, up Broadway to Broome Street, up Broome Street to the Bowery, down the Bowery to Pearl Street, down Pearl Street to the Battery, over the Battery to Broadway, and thence to the City Hall. Along the whole extensive line of march, the spectacle was of a most imposing and animating description. Every society and occupation seemed to have been engaged in a laudable strife, regardless of the expense, to excel each other in the richness of their banners, and the beauty and taste exhibited in their badges and other decorations. Nor had the money of the societies been expended, or the skill of the artists of our city exercised, in vain. For never did a more imposing array of banners, of exquisite design and magnificent appearance, stream and flutter in the breeze. Many of the societies, likewise, had furnished themselves with cars of gigantic structure, upon which their respective artisans were busily engaged in their several occupations. The ornaments of many of these cars were curiously wrought, and they were otherwise beautifully and splendidly decorated. The richest Turkey or Brussels carpets covered the floors of some, whilst the costly gilding of

others reflected back the golden rays of the sun with dazzling effulgence.* The eye of beauty, too, gazed with delight upon the passing scene; for every window was thronged, and the myriads of handkerchiefs which fluttered in the air were only rivaled in whiteness by the delicate hands which suspended them; while the glowing cheeks, the ingenuous smiles of loveliness and innocence, and the intelligence which beamed brightly from many a sparkling eye, proclaimed their possessors worthy of being the wives, mothers, and daughters of freemen. It was, in fine, a proud spectacle; but language fails in attempting its description—much more in imparting to paper the sensations which it created. It is not difficult to describe individual objects correctly, but it is impossible to portray their general effect, when happily grouped together. It is amid scenes like these—a faint gleam of which can only be conveyed to the future antiquary or historian—that the mind is absorbed in its own reflections, musing in solitude, though surrounded by the gay and the thoughtless, and literally lost in its own imaginings.

“The festivities of the day were closed in the evening by illuminations of the public buildings and the principal hotels, upon many of which appropriate transparencies were exhibited. The illumination of the City Hotel contributed largely to the brilliant appearance of Broadway. Great taste was also displayed in the illumination of the New York Coffee-house. The front in Sloat Lane presented a brilliant wreath, encircling the letter “C.” The front, in William Street, displayed the words “Grand Canal,” in large and glowing capitals. We do not remember to have seen a more original and beautiful method of illuminating than that adopted at this establishment. Peale’s Museum presented a beautiful transparency—rays

* For a particular description of the several cars, banners, and badges, the reader is referred to the report of the marshal of the day.

of glory, containing a motto illustrative of the dependence of the fine arts upon the success of commerce. Scudder's Museum, likewise, was brilliantly illuminated, and a very large and beautiful transparency was exhibited in front. The Park Theater was illuminated, and also exhibited appropriate transparencies without; while within, an interlude, composed for the occasion by Mr. Noah, with scenery specially prepared for the occasion, was received with great applause. A similar production, from the pen of Mr. Woodworth, was played at the Chatham Theater, and was likewise well received. The house of Mr. Seixas, in Broadway, was illuminated; and an appropriate transparency, representing Fortune embarking on board of a canal-boat, loaded with bags of money, and several appropriate emblematical devices, were exhibited. At "The Lunch," a transparency was exhibited representing the canal-boat *Seneca Chief* receiving on board his Excellency the Governor, the Buffalo deputation, Indian chiefs, &c., preparatory to her passage from Lake Erie into the Canal. But the City Hall was the grand point of attraction, and too much praise cannot be given to our Corporation for the great exertions which they made to contribute to the enjoyment and festivities of the day. The City Hall, under their direction, was superbly illuminated, the front presenting a very magnificent transparency, on which were painted interesting views of the Canal, columns with the names of worthies, figures emblematical of the occasion, &c. The fire-works, prepared by Mr. Wilcox, far exceeded the public expectation, and were unrivaled of the kind. Such rockets were never before seen in New York. They were uncommonly large. Now they shot forth alternately showers of fiery serpents and dragons, 'gorgons, and hydras, and chimeras dire;' and now they burst forth and rained down showers of stars, floating in the atmosphere like balls of liquid silver.

The volcanic eruption of fire-balls and rockets with which this exhibition was concluded, afforded a spectacle of vast beauty and sublimity. They were sent up apparently from the rear of the hall to a great height, diverging like rays from a common center, then floating for a moment like meteors of the brightest light, and falling over in a graceful curve, presenting a scene magnificent and enchanting. The park was filled to overflowing; not less than eight or ten thousand admiring spectators were collected in it to view the splendid display which the Corporation had prepared so munificently for their fellow-citizens.

“Thus passed a day so glorious to the State and city, and so deeply interesting to the countless thousands who were permitted to behold and mingle in its exhibitions. We have before said that all attempts at description must be utterly in vain. Others can comprehend the greatness of the occasion; the Grand Canal is completed, and the waters of Lake Erie have been borne upon its surface, and mingled with the ocean. But it is only those who were present, and beheld the brilliant scenes of the day, that can form any adequate idea of their grandeur, and of the joyous feelings which pervaded all ranks of the community. Never before had been presented to the sight a fleet so beautiful as that which then graced our waters. The numerous array of steam-boats and barges proudly breasting the billows, and dashing on their way regardless of opposing winds and tides; the flags of all nations, and banners of every hue, streaming splendidly in the breeze; the dense columns of black smoke ever and anon sent up from the boats, now partially obscuring the view, and now spreading widely over the sky and softening down the glare of light and color; the roar of cannon from the various forts, accompanied by heavy volumes of white smoke, contrasting finely with the smoke from the steam-boats; the crowds of happy beings who thronged the decks, and

the voice of whose joy was mingled with the sound of music, and not unfrequently drowned by the hissing of the steam; all these, and a thousand other circumstances, awakened an interest so intense, that 'the eye could not be satisfied with seeing, nor the ear with hearing.' We rejoiced, and all who were there rejoiced; although, as we looked upon the countless throng, we could not but remember the exclamation of Xerxes, and feel that 'a hundred years hence, not one of all that vast multitude will be alive.' The splendor of beauty and the triumph of art serve to excite, to dazzle, and often to improve the condition and promote the welfare of mankind; but the 'fashion of this world passeth away;' beauty and art, with all their triumphs and splendors, endure but for a season; and earth itself, with all its lakes and oceans, is only as the small dust of the balance in the sight of Him who dwells beyond the everlasting hills.*

"On Monday evening, the 7th of November, the festivities of our city were appropriately concluded by a ball, which was given in the Lafayette Amphitheater, in Laurens Street, by the officers of the militia, associated with a committee of citizens. The circus-buildings, comprising a spacious stage used for dramatic representations, was enlarged by the addition of an edifice in the rear, which had been used for a riding-school. These were connected in such a manner as to form an area of much greater extent than that of any other ball-room in the United States, being nearly two hundred feet in length, and varying from sixty to about one hundred feet in width. The usual entrance to the circus from Laurens Street was closed up, and new entrances opened from Thompson Street, in the rear, through the riding-school. The front

* For a letter from Colonel Stone to Dr. Hosack upon the legislative proceedings of 1816-'17, in regard to the Erie Canal, see Hosack's *Memoir of De Witt Clinton*.

was brilliantly illuminated, presenting in large letters, formed by bright lamps, extending over the doors across the building, the words 'The Grand Canal.' The whole area within was newly floored for the occasion, and divided into three compartments by the original division of the audience part of the circus, the stage, and the additional building on Thompson Street. Of these we shall speak in order, but briefly. The two tiers of boxes were preserved, and decorated for the accommodation of that part of the company which chose to retire and be spectators of the busy assemblage below. Access was obtained to them through a flight of steps in the middle of the boxes, of which the center one had been removed. The dome in this part of the hall was ornamented with green wreaths, which were appropriately festooned with beautiful and various flowers, sweeping gracefully to the pillars which supported the boxes, terminating at and around them. Above the proscenium were the names of the engineers who had been employed in the construction of the Canal, viz., Briggs, White, Geddes, Wright, Thomas; opposite these, and in the center of the circle of boxes, was a bust of Washington, surrounded with evergreens, and around were inscribed the names of the past and the present Canal Commissioners—Hart, Bouck, Holly, De Witt, North, Livingston, Fulton, Clinton, Van Rensselaer, Morris, Eddy, Young, Seymour, Porter, Ellicott.

"From the roof, splendid chandeliers added their blaze of light to the numberless lamps which were hung nearly parallel to the upper boxes. Passing into the upper apartment, the eye was met by a scene of equal splendor. One side of this room, which is the stage of the theater, was formed by a beautiful piece of scenery, representing the interior of an elegant chamber, with proper doors, handsomely ornamented. The other side was occupied by a band of music, placed behind a species of turret, on

the face of which arches were skillfully painted, and in the distance of which landscapes were represented. Here was also hung the painting, spoken of near the commencement of this narrative, from the cabin of the canal-boat, faithfully representing the whole arrangement at that place. The music of the band which was placed here was excellent, and we discovered that the bugle-notes were those of Willis, of West Point. Our national stripes were suspended from the center, and tastefully looped up from the extremities of the ceiling, forming a complete circumference of regular semicircles, meeting in a common center. Here, also, were lamps and chandeliers, and wreaths of flowers, and garlands of roses, and various devices and emblems, highly creditable to the managers. But it was to the third and remaining apartment that the exertions of the committee were directed, and their success was correspondent. So many and so elegant were the decorations, that the writer cannot hope to give them more than a very brief notice, in which he must call upon the imagination of the reader to increase with treble intensity the imperfect idea given of the splendor of decoration displayed. Imagine in a large hall, collected, and displayed in one grand view, the flags and emblems and costly decorations, which, in a continued and scattered procession, called forth such enthusiasm of admiration. Imagine them presented in one overwhelming view, blazing with light, and bright with reflected beauty; and when a proper idea is formed of the complete enchantment of the scene, add to this, in one prodigious mirror, the whole reflected back in trebled brilliancy, doubling the immense area, including the thousand lights that sparkled around, to tenfold greater splendor. And when all this is done, the imagination of the whole scene will be faint to the reality. Floods of light were poured forth from every point, which were glanced back by the glittering array of the mili-

tary, and a thousand other objects of brilliant reflection.

"But entrancing, above all other enchantments of the scene, was the living enchantment of beauty—the trance which wraps the senses in the presence of loveliness, when woman walks the halls of fancy—magnificence herself—the brightest object in the midst of brightness and beauty. A thousand faces were there, bright in intelligence, and radiant with beauty, looking joy and congratulation to each other, and spreading around the spells which the loves and the graces bind on the heart of the sterner sex.

"It only remains to speak of the ladies' supper-room, which was separated from the large apartment by flags elegantly festooned, and raised at the given signal. Mirrors, and splendid lights, and emblems, and statues, and devices, beyond the writer's abilities to describe, ornamented this part of the house in common with the rest. Upon the supper-table was placed, floating in its proper element (the waters of Erie) a miniature canal-boat, made entirely of maple-sugar, and presented to Governor Clinton by Colonel Hinman, of Utica. The refreshments were excellent; and, considering the vast number who were to partake of them, very plentifully provided. At a seasonable hour the company retired, with memories stored for future conversation, with the events, and decorations, and splendors of 'The Grand Canal Ball.'"

That this joy was not ill-timed and excessive, the steady increase of the productiveness of the State affords conclusive proof. Many of the supporters of the "Big Ditch," who, at the time, were regarded as enthusiastic and visionary, have lived to see their most sanguine predictions more than realized, as well as the complete refutation of the opinion which one of our greatest statesmen, whose zeal for internal improvements could not be questioned, was known to have expressed, that this enterprise

had been undertaken a hundred years too soon, and that, until the lapse of another century, the strength of our population and our resources would be inadequate to such a work.*

While, however, New York city was thus vindicating her claim to a place in the van of internal improvements, she did not hesitate to take the lead, also, in extending aid to a nation at that time struggling
1826.
for its release from the thralldom of an oppressor. Greece

* The following statistics were furnished by the late Hon. Nathaniel S. Benton, for many years an able Canal Auditor:

The amount of tolls in 1823 was \$199,655.03; in 1866, \$3,966,522.52; and the total amount of tolls from 1823 to 1866, inclusive, \$90,153,279.19. The amount of tons going to tide-water is given in the report only as far back as 1836. In 1836, the number of tons going to tide-water over the Canal was only 419,125; in 1866, 2,523,664; and the total amount between these two years, inclusive, was 52,761,967. It also appears that, in 1837, the estimated value of all property transported on the Canal was \$47,720,879; in 1865, \$186,114,718; and between these years, inclusive, \$3,439,407,522. The amount of tons that came to this city in 1857, without breaking bulk, was 381,390; in 1866, 1,633,172; and between those years, 11,775,396. This ratio of increase seems to be broken in upon only in one particular, viz., in the amount of tons—the product of the State itself—arriving at tide-water. In 1836, this was 364,901; and in 1865, 173,538. Here the previous rule is reversed, and instead of a gain there is a considerable falling-off. This, however, is not to be attributed to a decrease in production, but to the fact that the channels by which produce is conveyed to the city are becoming more numerous each succeeding year. This is evident, if the amount brought down by the Champlain Canal for 1866 (561,053) be added, which gives a total of 734,591. And if to this could be added the number of tons that now go by way of the Central and other railroads of the State, which otherwise would have gone by the Canal, the sum would be very greatly increased. Indeed, this element of transportation by rail must be taken into calculation in forming a correct estimate of the importance of the Canal. It will be seen by the figures given above, that, with the exception just mentioned, the Canal shows a steady increase in its tolls and tonnage, notwithstanding the vast amount of freight yearly diverted from it by the railroads, and by vessels which now convey considerable freight from Buffalo direct to Europe, which formerly was brought to this city for shipment abroad. And to this must also be added the large amount of trade which has been directed by various channels into the Western States.

The report of the Auditor gives also the cost of the enlargement up to the close of 1866, viz., \$33,030,613.80. The original cost was \$7,143,789.86; the total cost, therefore, up to 31st of December, 1866, is \$40,224,403.66.

was at this period writhing under the heel of the Sultan. In the first three years of the war, that nation had received no material aid in men or money. This arose probably from the fact, that, at this time, the Greeks were in no need of assistance. Fighting with enthusiasm, and upon their own soil, they had beaten off the Turkish hordes, and cleared most of the country of their oppressors. In this year, however, affairs wore a different hue. Byron had died, and the dark days of the revolution had begun. The Egyptian Vizier had responded to the appeals of the Sultan; and his son, Ibrahim Pasha, landing an organized and regular army on the Peloponnesus, swept everything before him. In less than two years, the Greeks were driven from the plains and all the open country to the caves and recesses in the mountains, retaining only here and there a fortress. As it was a war without quarter, every one fled; for surrender was death to every man and dishonor to every woman. Two seasons brought them to the point of starvation. Their vines had been pulled up, their olive-trees burned, their fields desolated, their flocks slain and eaten. Snails and sorrel were their only food; and the only alternative left, on the part of the Greeks, was starvation or submission. Guerrilla bands alone hovered around the flanks and rear of the invading hosts. At this point, Dr. Samuel G. Howe, urged by a pure philanthropy, set out for Greece. After experiencing many vicissitudes, and languishing for several months in a Prussian dungeon, he at length landed upon the Peloponnesus alone, from an Austrian vessel going to Smyrna. As there was, however, no organization among the Greeks, he could do nothing, and accordingly returned to the United States to get help. On his arrival at Boston, he found that Greek committees, under the lead of Edward Everett and Daniel Webster, were already formed; and, after doing what he could to organize efforts for raising supplies, he came to New York.

at the solicitation of Colonel Stone, with whom he had been for a long time in correspondence, with a view to this end.* Colonel Stone now threw himself heartily into the good work. He roused the public through his paper, the *Commercial Advertiser*; issued stirring appeals for aid; depicted in vivid colors the sufferings of the Greeks; and got up private meetings of wealthy men, at which large subscriptions were obtained.† After doing all that could be done in the city, he accompanied Dr. Howe upon a tour up the Hudson River, and through the western towns of the State, preaching a sort of crusade for the relief of the Greeks.‡

The general results are well known. Through the efforts of those persons who have been mentioned, ships, and large amounts of grain, flour, clothing, and money, were obtained, forwarded, and distributed among the

* Letter from Dr. Samuel G. Howe to the author.

† In this connection, the author recalls an anecdote characteristic of both the parties to whom it refers. Colonel Stone, while engaged in securing subscriptions for the Greeks, called upon John Jacob Astor, 1st, for a considerable amount. To all his persuasions the old fur-merchant turned a deaf ear, finally alleging that he himself was really quite poor. "Yes, Mr. Astor," replied the Colonel, "every one is poor nowadays but you and me." Astor knew that the Colonel was, at this time, very much embarrassed, having lost nearly all his property by indorsing; and, upon this reply, so archly given, he joined in the laugh, and handed the Colonel his check for considerably more than the sum asked for.

‡ At a mass meeting held in the Cooper Institute on the 26th of January, 1867, in behalf of the Cretan patriots—his Honor Mayor Hoffman in the chair—Professor R. C. Hitchcock D. D., in paying a high tribute to the early friends of the Greeks in the United States, said: "In Massachusetts, Dr. Howe, Webster, and Everett; in Kentucky, Clay. But let us not forget one of our own fellow-citizens, who battled hard for the liberties of the Greeks, and who was one of three who received from the Greeks themselves a token of the respect and veneration in which he was held,—a name that has been strangely omitted of late when speaking of the early struggles of the Greeks; a man whose graceful pen has adorned our national literature; who wrote thrilling articles to rouse the people to a sense of the wrongs of those patriots; one who traveled up the Hudson, speaking to any one and every one that thronged around him, of the great subject that occupied the whole power of his mind,—the liberty of the Greeks; one second only, if even second to any, to Dr. Howe himself—the name of WILLIAM L. STONE."

starving people of Greece, which, by the immediate relief thus brought, and by the moral support thus given at the most critical period of the Greek Revolution, helped materially to aid the cause.*

* *Memoir of Colonel William L. Stone*, by William L. Stone, 2d. Albany · J. Munsell. 1866.

CHAPTER VI.

IN 1828, SA-GO-YE-WAT-HA, or Red-Jacket, the great Seneca orator, visited New York on his way to Washington. In 1797, his rival—though in a different field
—THA-YEN-DA-NE-GEA, or Brant, had also paid a 1828.
visit to New York, at which time he was the guest of Theodosia, the daughter of the Vice-President, Aaron Burr, at Richmond Hill. Miss Theodosia treated the forest chief with all the courtesy that hospitality suggested; and, young as she was, she performed the honors of her father's house (Burr was then in Philadelphia) in a manner that must have been as gratifying to her absent parent as it was creditable to herself. Among other attentions, she gave him a dinner party, selecting for her guests some of the most eminent gentlemen in the city, among whom were Bishop Moore and Drs. Bard and Hosack. In writing to her father upon the subject, she gave a long and sprightly account of the entertainment. She said that, in making the preliminary arrangements, she had been somewhat at a loss in the selection of such dishes as would suit the palate of her principal guest. Being a savage warrior, and in view of the many tales she had heard of

The cannibals that each other eat,
The anthropophagi, and men whose heads
Do grow beneath their shoulders,

she added, sportively, that she had a mind to lay the hospital under contribution for a human head, to be served up like a boar's head in ancient hall barbaric. But, after all, she found him a most Christian and civilized guest in his manners.*

In like manner, Red-Jacket, during his stay in the city, was made the "lion" of the hour; and many of the oldest and most distinguished families vied with each other to do him honor. While in New York, his portrait was taken by Robert W. Weir, at the request of Dr. John W. Francis. Henry Inman and Mr. Mathias also made sketches of him; but the one by Weir is of far the highest order of merit, and has become the standard likeness of "the last of the Seneca orators." An acquaintance of several years, and the reception of some trifling presents from Dr. Francis, had enabled the latter to educe a promise from the old chief to sit on his next visit to New York. This happened in the present year; when, with his interpreter, Jemison, he very promptly repaired to the studio of Mr. Weir. "For this purpose," writes Dr. Francis to his friend William Dunlop,† "he dressed himself in the cos-

* The following characteristic letter was written at the time by Burr, introducing the Mohawk chief to his daughter:—

"PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 28th, 1797.

"This will be handed to you by Colonel Brant, the celebrated Indian chief. I am sure that you and Natalie* will be happy in the opportunity of seeing a man so much renowned. He is a man of education—speaks and writes the English perfectly—and has seen much of Europe and America. Receive him with respect and hospitality. He is not one of those Indians who drink rum, but is quite a gentleman; not one who will make you fine bows, but one who understands and practices what belongs to propriety and good-breeding. He has daughters—if you could think of some little present to send to one of them (a pair of ear-rings, for example), it would please him. You may talk to him very freely, and offer to introduce him to your friend, Mr. Witbeck, at Albany. *Vale et arma.* A. B."†

† The author of the *History of the American Arts of Design*.

* Natalie Delagré, an adopted child of Aaron Burr, born in France, and subsequently married to a son of General Sumpter, of South Carolina.

† Stone's *Life of Joseph Brant*.

tume which he deemed most appropriate to his character, decorated with his brilliant over-covering and belt, his tomahawk and Washington medal.* For the whole period of nearly two hours, on four or five successive days, he was as punctual to the arrangements of the artist as any individual could be. He chose a large arm-chair for his convenience, while his interpreter, as well as himself, was occupied, for the most part, in surveying the objects which decorated the artist's room. He had a party of several Senecas with him, who, adopting the horizontal position, in different parts of the room, regaled themselves with the fumes of tobacco to their utmost gratification. Red-Jacket occasionally united in this relaxation; but was so deeply absorbed in attention to the work of the painter as to think, perhaps, of no other subject. At times he manifested extreme pleasure, as the outlines of the picture were filled up. The drawing of his costume, which he seemed to prize, as peculiarly appropriate, and the distant view of the Falls of Niagara—scenery at no great distance from his own residence—forced him to an indistinct utterance of his satisfaction. When his medal appeared complete in the picture, he addressed his interpreter by striking gestures; and when his noble front was finished, he sprung upon his feet with great alacrity, and, seizing the artist by the hand, exclaimed with great energy, "Good! good!" The painting being finished, he parted with Mr. Weir with a satisfaction equal to that which he, doubtless, on some occasions, had felt on effecting an Indian treaty. Red-Jacket must have been beyond his seventieth year when the painting was made. He exhibited in his countenance somewhat of the traces of time and trial on his constitution. Nevertheless, he was of a tall and erect form, and walked with a firm gait. His

* See engraving in the large-paper edition of this work, which is a copy of Weir's painting.

characteristics are preserved by the artist to admiration ; and his majestic front exhibits an attitude surpassing every other that I have ever seen of the human skull. As a specimen for the craniologist, Red-Jacket need not yield his pretensions to those of the most astute philosophers. He will long live by the painting of Weir, the poetry of Halleck, and the fame of his own deeds.*

Red-Jacket loved his native forests, and no music was to him so sad as the sounds of approaching civilization, before which they were destined to fall. Every blow of the woodman's ax sent a pang to his heart. The crash of a falling tree sounded more painfully upon his ears than the jar of an earthquake. The following anecdote will illustrate his feelings upon this subject. In the days of his youth, he was wont to join the hunters in the beautiful valley of the Genesee with great enthusiasm. Game was then plenty, and those were, indeed, the fairest hunting-grounds he could traverse. Toward the close of his life, he went thither to indulge once more in the chase, where a forest, apparently of considerable extent, yet remained. He entered it, recognizing some of his ancient friends among the venerable trees, and hoping still to find abundant game. But he had not proceeded far before he approached an opening, and his course was presently impeded by a fence, within the inclosure of which one of the pale-faces was engaged in guiding the plow. With a heavy heart, he turned in another direction, the forest seeming yet to be deep, and where he hoped to find a deer, as in the days when he was young. But he had not traveled long before another opening broke upon his view ; another fence impeded his course,

* Doctor Francis held many conversations with Red-Jacket, during the latter's stay in the city, some of which were upon the subject of the diseases to which the Indians were subject. The chief was quite descriptive in his statements and seemed sufficiently qualified to make a number of very fair distinctions in relation to the subject.—*Conversations of Dr. Francis with Col. Wm. L. Stone.*

and another cultivated field appeared within. He sat down and wept.*

In the same year that Red-Jacket visited the city, the Merchants' Exchange, in Wall Street (begun in 1825), was completed. Masonic Hall, opposite the New York Hospital, the Arcade, in Maiden Lane, and other buildings of more or less interest, were also erected. It has been the custom of late years to speak of the changes that have taken place in New York city as of recent date. This, however, is a mistake. *Modern* New York begins, in reality, about the year 1820, at which time the "march of internal improvement" began to level the most interesting of our city landmarks. Indeed, as late as 1827, Exchange Place was Garden Street, Beaver Street was Exchange Street, and Hanover Street was unknown. Garden Street, ending in what is now Hanover Street, was connected with Exchange Street and Pearl Street by Sloat Lane. This narrow lane was afterward widened and extended through to Wall Street, forming Hanover Street. The triangular block now bounded by Beaver, Pearl, and Hanover, was then bounded on the north by Exchange Street, on the east by a private alley, connecting the east end of that street with Pearl at a point some fifty feet this side of the present junction, on the south by Pearl, as now, and on the west by Sloat Lane. Beaver Street was subsequently opened through on its present line, and the private alley was closed up and built upon.

In 1829, an old resident of New York, returning to the city, after an absence of several years, was so struck with the changes which had taken place, both in the people and in the buildings, that he gave them to
1829.
the public in two very interesting letters.† The reminis-

* Related to Colonel W. L. Stone by a Seneca chief.

† The late Gulian C. Verplanck (under the *nom de plume* of Francis Herbert), in the *Talisman*, for 1829-1830.

cences contained in them are of great value, as tending to preserve that which otherwise must have fallen into oblivion. New York has, it is true, reached a proud mercantile position; but it must not be supposed that, on this account, she has no traditions other than those associated with trade. To assume this would be as unjust as it is untrue. Many memories she has, both of a pleasant and a saddening nature; and while there are many, in this intensely practical age, who profess to sneer at everything in which they can "see no money," yet there are a few from whose hearts all sentiment has not been entirely crushed out. It is for the benefit of this latter class that we reproduce a portion of the reminiscences here alluded to. The writer says:

"New York is full of old reminiscences. Some are consecrated by religious feeling, and some by their connection with the political destinies of our country. My father used to show me, when a boy, the spot on the North River, just above the present Barclay-street Ferry, where Jonathan Edwards, when temporary pastor of Wall-street Church, used to walk backward and forward on the solitary pebbly shore, sounding the depths of his own conscience, and drawing 'sweet consolation' from the religion which he taught. Here he ruminated on the mysteries of eternal preordination and free-will, while fell upon his ear the murmurs of that ocean which is the symbol of eternity and power, and whose motions are controlled, like the events of our own lives, by the word and will of the Most High. Then, likewise, he showed me the little church, back to the site of the present Methodist Chapel, in John Street, where Whitfield, as my father expressed it, used to 'preach like a lion,' with a searching power that made the sinner quail, and shook and broke the infidel's stony heart. It was in Wall Street that the apos-

tolie Tennant lifted up his melodious voice, and sounded the silver trumpet of the Gospel.

* * * * *

“On the site of the present Custom-house,* where the commerce of the world pays its tribute to the great treasury of the nation, stood the old City Hall, commanding a view of the wide and winding avenue of Broad Street. Here, in a species of balcony, in the second story of the building, such as the Italians call a *loggia*, mean in its materials of wood and brick, but splendid in the taste and proportions given to it by the architect L’Enfant, the inauguration oath of the chief magistracy of the Union was administered by Chancellor Livingston to Washington, the first of our Presidents. In front of the building an innumerable and silent crowd of citizens, intently gazing on the august ceremony, thronged the spacious street, and filled Wall Street from William Street to Broadway. Behind the President elect stood a group of the illustrious fathers of the nation—Hamilton and Knox, and the elder Adams, and the venerable and learned and eloquent Johnson, and Ellsworth and Sherman of Connecticut, and Clinton and Chief-Justice Morris and Duane of New York, and Boudinot of New Jersey, and Rutledge of South Carolina, and less conspicuous in person, though among the foremost in fame, the Virginian, Madison. There, too, stood the most revered of the clergy of New York, the venerable Dr. Rodgers, of the Presbyterian Church; the wise and mild and suasive Dr. Moore, of the Episcopal; the dignified and eloquent Dr. Livingston, of the Dutch; and the learned Dr. Kunze and the patriotic Dr. Grose, of the German churches. Back of these stood younger men, since scarcely less illustrious than the elder statesmen I have mentioned—Ames, and Cabot, and Gouverneur Morris, majestic and graceful in spite of his wooden leg. But

* Now the Sub-Treasury.

why should I attempt to describe this great occasion by words? I lately looked over the portfolio of my friend Dunlap, and found, among many other fine things, sketches which present this scene vividly to the eye, with the features of the great men who figured in it, and their costumes and attitudes, such as he himself beheld them. I wish somebody would employ him to paint a noble picture, such as he is capable of producing, on this magnificent subject. The pride of a New-Yorker, the feelings of a patriot, the ambition of an artist, and the recollections of this interesting ceremony, which still live in his memory, would stimulate him to do it ample justice.

* * * * *

"Cedar Street, since that day, has declined from its ancient consequence. I had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Jefferson in an old two-story house in that street, unbending himself in the society of the learned and polite from the labors of the bureau. And there was Talleyrand, whom I used to meet at the houses of General Hamilton and of Noah Webster, with his club-foot and passionless, immovable countenance, sarcastic and malicious even in his intercourse with children. He was disposed to amuse himself with gallantry, too. But who does not know, or rather, who ever did know, Talleyrand? About the same time I met with Priestley, grave and placid in his manners, with a slight difficulty of utterance; dry, polite, learned, and instructive in his conversation. At a period somewhat later, I saw here the deputy Billaud de Varrennes, who had swayed the blood-thirsty mob of the Faubourg St. Antoine, turned the torrent of the multitude into the hall of the Legislative Assembly, and reanimated France to a bolder and more vigorous resistance against her foreign enemies. I visited him in the garret of a poor tavern in the upper part of William Street, where he lived in obscurity. But why particularize further? We have

had *savans*, *littérateurs*, and politicians by the score, all men of note, some good and some bad, and most of whom certainly thought that they attracted more attention than they did,—Volney and Cobbett and Tom Moore, and the two Michaux, and the Abbé Correa, and Jeffrey, and others; the muster-roll of whose names I might call over, if I had the memory of Baron Trenck, and my readers the taste of a catalogue-making librarian. Have we not jostled ex-kings and ex-empresses and ex-nobles in Broadway? trod on the toes of exotic naturalists, Waterloo marshals, and great foreign academicians at the parties of young ladies? and seen more heroes and generals all over town than would fill a new Iliad?

“Pensive memory turns to other worthies no less illustrious in their way. There were Billy the Fiddler and his wife, whom no one having seen, could ever forget, and no one who had music in his soul remember without regretting that such a fiddle should ever have been hung up. Billy had been a favorite of Mozart, at Vienna, and used to say that he had composed one (I forget which) of his six celebrated sonatas; though I believe he drew rather too long a bow when he made this statement. He was about four feet six inches in height, with a foot as long as a fourth of his stature. His head was not disproportionate, as those of dwarfs usually are; but he had their characteristic petulance; and the irritability of his temper was certainly not improved by the enforced attendance of a retinue of idle boys, who always formed his *suite* when he walked forth in the streets. His wife was a suitable companion for him as to personal appearance and height; and it seemed, on looking at the couple, to be not at all wonderful how the Germans came by their wild and droll conceptions of goblins and elves. But I never heard of any other magic practiced by Billy, except that the sweet and enlivening strains of his violin made the young masters

and misses, at whose juvenile parties he officiated, dance off the soles of their shoes and stockings; and that they would have begun upon their tender skins if they had not been discreetly carried home.

"There was also the family of the Hewletts (which, from tradition or observation, I may say I know for four generations), contemporaries of the successive Vestrises. Indeed, according to the family record, the first Hewlett was a pupil of the first Vestris, and a favorite disciple of that great master; who only complained that he was not sufficiently *léger* in his ascents, nor quite *de plomb* enough in his descents; but certified, that, for grace, agility, and science, he was the prince of his *élèves*. The opinions of those educated under the successive dynasties of these masters of aërial gymnastics, as fashion controlled both teachers and scholars, 'and as longer puffs and louder fiddles' brought other professors of the graces of motion forward, varied as to the distinctive characteristics of their several excellencies; still, the Hewletts kept their ground. They outlived the Revolution of Seventy-six;—Trinity Church was pulled down, the Governor's Court fled from the Battery, but they kept the field, like the trumpeters of chivalry. They taught dancing to the belles, who captivated the members of the first Congress; and tried to teach some of the members themselves. Then came the *horrible* French Revolution; and in that terrible storm, which overthrew the landmarks of the Old World, new manners and new teachers were drifted on our shores, and the Hewletts went out of vogue. There must be few who have dwelt in this now all-be-metamorphosed city, even for six years past, who have not had occasion to observe the dapper legs and silken hose of the last of this line. But they will be seen no more. David Hewlett is dead! and, as he trod lightly upon the earth, may the earth lie lightly on him. He was a gentleman, every inch of him. He

was the last of the anti-Revolutionary dancing-masters; a kind, good, humble man. At St. Paul's I always found him repeating the service with a formality which was the result of decorous habit, and a fervor which could only have come warm from the heart. Again I say, light be the earth above him! and he must have a stern, hard heart who can scoff at my honest tribute to the memory of my old dancing-master.

"My reminiscences of New York, or rather the people that have been in it, come before my mind in pretty much the same order that 'jewels and shells, sea-weed, and straw,' are raked by 'old father Time from the ocean of the past,' according to Milton or Bacon, or some other ancient writer of eminence. I had an uncle, who was a prudent man in all his transactions; and who, from patriotic considerations, waited for the development of events before he took any part in the Revolutionary War. He had many of what might be called Tory recollections of that period. He knew the Duke of Clarence, when he came here as a midshipman; skated with him on the Collect, where now stand the arsenal and the gas-manufactory,* and helped out of the ice him who is now official head of the English navy, and who may probably wield ere long the scepter of the British Empire. In walking along Broadway, he has often pointed out to me the small corner-room in the second story in the house in Wall Street, opposite Grace Church, then and long after occupied by Dr. Tillary, a Scotchman (formerly a surgeon and afterward an eminent physician), and told me how he used, at the period referred to, to eat oysters there, in the American fashion, with his Royal Highness, who preferred them to the copper-flavored productions of the British Channel.

"Pine Street is now full of blocks of tall, massive

* The present vicinity of the Tombs.

buildings, which overshadow the narrow passage between, and make it one of the gloomiest streets in New York. The very bricks there look of a darker hue than in any other part of the city; the rays of the sun seem to come through a yellower and thicker atmosphere; and the shadows thrown there by moonlight seem of a blacker and more solid darkness than elsewhere. The sober occupations of the inhabitants also, who are learned members of the bar, nearest Broadway, and calculating wholesale merchants as you approach the East River, inspire you with ideas of sedateness and gravity as you walk through it. It was not thus thirty or forty years ago. Shops were on each side of the way—low, cheerful-looking, two-story buildings, of light-colored brick or wood, painted white or yellow, and which scarcely seemed a hindrance to the air and sunshine. Among these stood the shop of Auguste Louis de Singeron, celebrated for the neatness and quality of its confectionery and pastry, and for the singular manners of its keeper, who was at once the politest and most passionate of men. He was a French emigrant, a courtier, and a warrior; a man of diminutive size, but of a most chivalrous, courteous, and undaunted spirit. He might be about five feet two inches in height; his broad shoulders overshadowed a pair of legs under the common size; his fiery-red hair was tied into a club behind, and combed fiercely up in front; the upper part of his cheek-bones, the tip of his nose, and the peak of his chin, were tinged with a bright scarlet; his voice was an exaggeration of the usual sharp tones of his nation, and his walk was that of a man who walks for a wager. He was the younger son of a noble family; and, having a commission in the French army, was one of the officers who defended the Tuileries on the melancholy night of the 10th of August, 1792, when the palace streamed with blood, and the devoted adherents of the king were bayoneted in the corridors, or

escaped only to be proscribed and hunted down like wolves. Auguste de Singeron made his way to L'Orient, took passage to the United States, and landed at New York without a penny in his pocket. His whole inventory consisted of a cocked hat, a rusty suit of black, a cane, a small-sword, a white pocket-handkerchief, and shirts, if I am justified in speaking of them in the plural, the exact number of which cannot now be known, as he never chose to reveal it, but looked as if they had never been brought acquainted with the nymphs of the fountains. He at first betook himself to the usual expedient of teaching French for a livelihood; but it would not do. He lost all patience at correcting, for the twentieth time, the same blunder in the same pupil; he showed no mercy to an indelicate coupling of different genders; and fell upon a false tense with as much impetuosity as he had once rushed upon the battery of an enemy. But if he got into a passion suddenly, he got out of it as soon. His starts of irritation were succeeded by most vehement fits of politeness; he poured forth apologies with so much volubility, and so many bows, and pressed his explanation with so much earnestness and vigor, and such unintelligible precipitation, that his pupils became giddy with the noise, and, at the end of his lesson, were more perplexed than ever. In short, to apply the boast of a celebrated modern instructor, his disciples were so well satisfied with their progress, that they declined taking lessons a second quarter, and the poor Frenchman was obliged to think of some other way of getting a living. But what should it be? He had no capital, and scarcely any friends. Should he become a barber, a shoe-black, a cook, a fencing-master, a dentist, or a dancing-master? Either of these occupations was better than to beg, or to starve, or to steal, and the French nobility have figured in them all. The flexibility of the national character adapts itself in mature age to any situation in

life with the same ease that people of other nations accommodate themselves to that in which they were born. French marquises have sweltered in the kitchens of English private gentlemen, in greasy caps and aprons; French counts have given the polish to the nether extremities of the stately dons of Madrid; and French dukes have taken German ones by the nose. The graceful courtiers, who led down the dance the high-born dames of France, have exhausted themselves in the vain effort to teach Yorkshiremen to shuffle cotillions; the officers of his Most Christian Majesty's household have drawn teeth for cockneys; and the chevaliers of the Order of St. Louis have given lessons in the use of the broadsword to men who afterward figured as Yankee corporals. In the midst of his perplexity, a mere accident determined the future career of Monsieur de Singeron. He had politely undertaken to assist in the manufacture of some molasses-candy for a little boy, the son of his host; and, after a process attended with some vexations, during which the lad thought, two or three times, that his French acquaintance would swallow him alive, he produced the article in such delicious and melting perfection, that his fame was quickly spread abroad among the boys of the neighborhood as an artist of incomparable merit. He took the hint, got his landlord to assist him with a small credit, turned pastry-cook and confectioner, set up at first in a small way, enlarged his business as he got customers, and finally took a handsome shop in the street I have mentioned. The French have as great a talent for comfits as for compliments; and the genius that shines in the invention of an agreeable flattery displays itself to no less advantage in the manufacture of a sugar-plum. Auguste Louis de Singeron was no vulgar imitator of his clumsy English and Dutch brethren in the art. I speak not of the splendor of his crystallizations, of the brilliant frost-work of his plum-

cakes, nor of the tempting arrangement he knew how to give to his whole stock of wares, though these were admirable. But the gilt gingerbread I used to buy of him—instead of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba—was graced with the stately figures of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette; the queen standing bolt-upright—as became the conqueror of hearts and the mistress of the finest kingdom in the world—and the monarch holding her hand, with a delicate inclination of his royal body, as if acknowledging the empire of beauty. He, I believe, first introduced the practice of stamping the New-year's cake with figures of Cupids among roses, and hearts transfixed by an arrow in honor of *la belle passion*. His marchpane bore an impress of the *façade* of the Tuileries, with its pilasters, columns, and carvings; and his *blanc-mange* was adorned with a bas-relief of warriors in bag-wigs and cocked hats, tilting fiercely at each other on its quivering and glancing surface.

“I shall never forget the courtly and high-bred civility with which M. de Singeron used to welcome me to his shop, and bow me out of it. I have since seen the nobles of the court of Marie Antoinette, and was no longer at a loss to account for the graceful manners of my old friend, the confectioner. It was not, however, quite safe to presume too much upon his forbearance, for he knew no medium between the most violent irritation and the most florid politeness. He had no patience with these people who stood in his door on a keen windy day, and would neither come in nor go out. They always got from him a hearty curse in French, followed, as soon as he could recollect himself, by something civil in English. ‘*Peste soit de la bête,*’ he used to say, ‘*fermez dont la—I beg pardon, sare,* but if you vill shut de door, you shall merit my eternal gratitude!’ The fellows who went about the streets crying ‘good oysters,’ and ‘fine Rockaway clams,’ avoided his ill-omened door in the winter months, taught by bitter

experience, and sundry ungracious and unexpected raps on the knuckles. He at first tried the plan of making them come in, shut the door, and deliver their errand, and then sending them about their business. This not succeeding, he tried the shining old *lignum-vitæ* cane, with which he used to promenade in the gardens of the Tuileries, and with much better effect. On one occasion, however, he happened to bestow it rather rudely upon the nasal organ of a sailor. The fellow's proboscis was originally of most unnatural and portentous dimensions; it swelled terribly from the effect of the blow; and, meeting with a pettifogger, who told him it was a good case for damages, he brought an action against the confectioner. Monsieur de Singeron in vain offered an apology and a plaster of bank-notes; the sailor was inexorable, and insisted on producing his injured member before the seat of justice. He did so, but unluckily the effect on the jury was rather ludicrous than pathetic, and the impression it made was against the plaintiff, who got only ten shillings by his suit. M. de Singeron thought it was not enough, and gave the fellow a five-dollar note besides, which he had the meanness to accept, though I believe he blushed as he did it.

"Monsieur de Singeron afterward sold cakes and confectionery in William Street, and then in Broadway, and finally was one of that joyful troop of returning exiles that flocked back to France on the restoration of the Bourbons. He was provided for by being made a colonel of cuirassiers, and in the decline of his life his gallant and courteous spirit was no longer obliged to struggle with the hardships and scorns of poverty. I have lately heard, though indirectly, so that I cannot vouch for the fact, that he has been promoted to be one of the marshals of France.

"There was another Frenchman of distinction, also of the old school of French manners, but less fortunate than

Monsieur de Singeron, and who used daily to take his solitary walk through Broadway. I allude to Admiral Pierre de Landais, a cadet of the family of a younger son of the youngest branch of one of the oldest, proudest, and poorest families in Normandy. He had regularly studied in the *Ecole de la Marine*, and was thoroughly instructed in the mathematical theories of sailing and building a ship, although, like the rest of his countrymen, he always found some unexpected difficulty in applying his theory to practice. For a Frenchman, however, he was a good sailor; but, in consequence of his grandfather having exhausted his patrimony in a splendid exhibition of fire-works for the entertainment of Madame de Pompadour, he had neither interest at court nor money to purchase court favor. He was therefore kept in the situation of an *aspirant*, or midshipman, until he was thirty-two years old, and was kept, I know not how many years more, in the humble rank of *sous-lieutenant*. He served his country faithfully, and with great good-will, until, in the beginning of the reign of Louis XVI, a page of the mistress of the Count de Vergennes came down to Cherbourg to be his captain. While he was boiling with indignation at this affront, the war between England and America broke out, and he seized that opportunity to enter the service of the United States. There he at once rose to the command of a fine frigate, and the title of admiral. Soon afterward came the brilliant affair of the *Serapis* and the *Bon Homme Richard*, in which Paul Jones, by his impetuous and undisciplined gallantry, earned the reputation of a hero, and poor Landais, by a too scrupulous attention to the theory of naval science, incurred that of a coward. I believe that naval authority is against me; but I venture to assert, *meo periculo*, and on the authority of one of my uncles, who was in that action as a lieutenant to Paul Jones, that Landais erred, not through any defect of bravery, but

merely from his desire to approach his enemy scientifically, by bearing down upon the hypotenuse of the precise right-angled triangle prescribed in the thirty-seventh '*manœuvre*' of his old text-book.

* * * * *

"The naval committee of Congress, unfortunately, understood neither mathematics nor French; they could not comprehend Landais' explanation, and he was thrown out of service. After his disgrace, he constantly resided in the city of New York, except that he always made a biennial visit to the seat of Government, whether at Philadelphia or at Washington, to present a memorial respecting the injustice done him, and to claim restitution to his rank and the arrears of his pay. An unexpected dividend of prize-money, earned at the beginning of the Revolutionary War, and paid in 1790, gave him an annuity of one hundred and four dollars, or rather, as I think, a hundred and five; for I remember his telling me that he had two dollars a week on which to subsist, and an odd dollar for charity at the end of the year.

* * * * *

"Although Congress, under the new Constitution, continued as obdurate and as impenetrable to explanation as they were in the time of the Confederation, the admiral kept up to the last the habits and exterior of a gentleman. His linen, though not very fine, nor probably very whole, was always clean; his coat threadbare, but scrupulously brushed; and, for occasions of ceremonious visiting, he had a pair of paste knee-buckles and faded yellow silk stockings with red clocks. He wore the American cockade to the last; and on the Fourth of July, the Day of St. Louis, and the anniversary of the day on which the British troops evacuated the city of New York, he periodically mounted his old Continental navy uniform, although its big brass buttons had lost their splendor, and the skirts of

the coat, which wrapped his shrunken person like a cloak, touched his heels in walking, while the sleeves, by some contradictory process, had receded several inches from the wrists. He subsisted with the utmost independence on his scanty income, refusing all presents, even the most trifling; and when my naval uncle, on one occasion, sent him a dozen of Newark cider, as a small mark of his recollection of certain hospitalities at the admiral's table when in command, while he himself was but a poor lieutenant, Landais peremptorily refused them, as a present he could not receive, because it was not in his power to reciprocate.

* * * * *

"He was a man of the most punctilious and chivalric honor, and at the same time full of that instinctive kindness of heart and that nice sense of propriety which shrink from doing a rude thing to anybody on any occasion. Even when he met his bitterest enemy, as he did, shortly after he came to New York, the man whose accusation had destroyed his reputation and blighted his prospects, whose injuries he had for years brooded over, and whom he determined to insult and punish whenever he fell in with him, he could not bring himself to offer him an insult unbecoming a gentleman, but, deliberately spitting on the pavement, desired his adversary to consider that pavement as his own face, and to proceed accordingly.

"Thus, in proud, solitary, and honorable poverty, lived Pierre de Landais for some forty years, until, to use the language of his own epitaph, in the eighty-seventh year of his age, he 'disappeared' from life. As he left no property behind him, and had no relations and scarcely any acquaintances in the country, it has always been a matter of mystery to me who erected his monument—a plain white marble slab, which stands in the church-yard of St.

Patrick's Cathedral, in New York, and on which is read the following characteristic inscription :



À LA MÉMOIRE
de
PIERRE DE LANDAIS,
ANCIEN CONTRE-AMIRAL,
au service
DES ÉTATS-UNIS,
Qui Disparut
Juin 1818,
Agé 87 ans.

"Who would suppose that the exploded science of alchemy had ever its professors in the United States, where the easy transmutation of the soil of the wilderness into rich possessions renders unnecessary the art of converting dross into gold? Yet such is the fact. Everybody who has been a frequent walker of Broadway, in any or all of the forty years preceding the last five, must recollect often meeting a man whom at first he might not have particularly noticed, but whose constant appearance in the same part of the street at the same hour of the day, and the peculiarities of whose dress and person, must at length have compelled attention. He was a plump-looking man, somewhat under the middle size, with well-spread shoulders, a large chest, a fair, fresh complexion, a clear but dreamy eye, and a short, quick stride, and had altogether the signs of that fullness of habit which arises from regular exercise and a good appetite, while a certain ascetic expression of countenance at once forbade the idea that it owed anything to festivity or good cheer. His



OFFICE OF THE

SECRETARY

OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

535 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Telephone 5-2121

Subscription Office

1501 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Telephone 5-2121

Advertising Office

1501 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Telephone 5-2121

Business Office

1501 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Telephone 5-2121

Editorial Office

1501 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Telephone 5-2121

Printing Office

1501 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Telephone 5-2121

Post Office

1501 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Telephone 5-2121

Telegrams

1501 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Telephone 5-2121

Telexgrams

1501 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Telephone 5-2121

Radiograms

1501 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Telephone 5-2121

Facsimiles

1501 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Telephone 5-2121

age, which never appeared to vary, might, from his looks, be estimated at five years, on the one side or other, of fifty. His dress was that of an old-fashioned, respectable citizen, educated before the age of suspenders, pantaloons, and boots, and who had never been persuaded to countenance those innovations of modern effeminacy. Notwithstanding its obsolete cut, it showed no signs of poverty, except, perhaps, to those, and those only, who occasionally met him sweltering, with a laudable contempt for the weather, in a full suit of thick Prussian blue, or Dutch black broadcloth, in a hot August day; or striding through a snow-storm in nankeen breeches and white cotton stockings in December. His name was Jan Max-Lichenstein; he was a Pomeranian by birth, who, early in life, going to Amsterdam to seek his fortune, became employed as a clerk in the great Dutch banking and commercial house of Hope & Co., where he proved himself a good accountant, and rendered himself useful in their German and Swedish correspondence.

“Afterward, by some accident or other, he found himself an adventurer at St. Petersburg. What led him to that city I cannot say; I have never heard it accounted for among his acquaintances in this city; at Amsterdam I forgot to inquire, and St. Petersburg I have never visited. But thither he went; and, having the good fortune to become known to Prince Potemkin, received an employment in his household, and finally came to be intrusted with the management of his finances. The prince, as everybody knows, like many others who have millions to dispose of, had constantly occasion for millions more; and, as everybody also ought to know who knows anything of his private history, when his funds were so reduced that he had nothing left but a few millions of acres and a few thousand serfs, took most furiously to gambling and alchemy. These liberal employments were divided be-

tween him and his treasurer. The prince rattled the dice-box in the gilded saloons of Tzarzko Zelo; and the Pomeranian, in spite of his remonstrances and his own better judgment, was set to compounding the alkahest, or universal menstruum, in the vaults under the north wing of Potemkin's winter palace. We soon get attached to the studies in which we are obliged to employ ourselves, and Lichenstein gradually found his incredulity yielding, and a strange interest stealing over him, as he read the books, and sweltered and watched over the operations of alchemy. The result was, that at length he became a believer in the mysteries of imbibition, solution, ablution, sublimation, cohabitation, calcination, ceration, and fixation, and all the martyrizations of metals, with the sublime influences of the Trine Circle of the Seven Spheres.

"Lichenstein, however, with all his diligence and increase of faith, could neither coin gold nor get it out of the prince's tenants in such quantities as it was wanted, and he was now destined to learn how much the favor of the great depends upon the state of their stomachs. One morning Potemkin, after a run of bad luck, plenty of good champagne, a sleepless night, and an indigestible breakfast of raw turnips and quass, called upon him for an extraordinary sum, and, not finding it easily furnished, flew into a passion and discharged him on the spot. As the prince never paid any debts but those of honor, Lichenstein knew that it would be in vain to ask for his salary, and walked into the streets without a penny in his pocket. The late Chief-Justice Dana, of Massachusetts, then our Minister at the Court of St. Petersburg, was about to return to America. Lichenstein had heard the most flattering accounts of the prospects held out in the United States to active and intelligent adventurers from the Old World and readily believed all he heard, which, for a believer in alchemy, was no great stretch of credulity. He had some

little acquaintance with the American Minister, in consequence of once or twice negotiating for him small bills on the bankers of the United States at Amsterdam. He threw himself upon his generosity, and requested a passage to this country—a favor which was readily granted. Here he was fortunate enough, almost immediately on his arrival, to be employed in the first mercantile house in New York, to answer their Dutch, German, and Northern correspondence, with a salary which, though not half so large as that allowed by Prince Potemkin, he liked twice as well, because it was regularly paid. He had scarcely become well settled in New York, when his old dream of alchemy returned upon him. He carefully hoarded his earnings until he was enabled to purchase, at a cheap rate, a small tenement in Wall Street, where he erected a furnace with a triple chimney, and renewed his search of the *arcantum magnum*. Every day, in the morning, he was occupied for two hours in the counting-room; then he was seen walking in Broadway; then he shut himself in his laboratory until the dusk of the evening, when he issued forth to resume his solitary walk.

“Year after year passed in this manner. Wall Street, in the meantime, was changing its inhabitants; its burghers gave way to banks and brokers; the city extended its limits, and the streets became thronged with increasing multitudes—circumstances of which the alchemist took no note, except that he could not help observing that he was obliged to take a longer walk than formerly to get into the country, and that the rows of lamps on each side of Broadway seemed to have lengthened wonderfully toward the north; but whether this was owing to the advance of old age, which made his walk more fatiguing, or to some other unknown cause, was a problem which I believe he never fully solved to his own satisfaction.

“Still, the secret of making gold seemed as distant as

ever, until it presented itself to him in an unexpected shape. His lot in Wall Street, which measured twenty-eight feet in front and eighty-seven in depth, and for which he had paid three hundred and fifty pounds in New York currency, had become a desirable site for a newly-chartered banking company. One day Lichenstein was called by the president of this company from his furnace, as he was pouring rectified water on the salt of Mercury. He felt somewhat crusty at the interruption, as he hoped, by reverberating the ingredients in an athanor, to set the liquor of Mars in circulation; but when this person had opened to him his errand, and offered him twenty-five thousand dollars for the purchase of his lot, his ill-humor was converted into surprise. Had he been offered five thousand, he would have accepted it immediately; but twenty-five thousand! the amount startled him. He took time to consider of the proposition, and the next morning was offered thirty thousand by a rival company. He must think of this also, and before night he sold to the first company for thirty-three thousand. He was now possessed of a competency; he quitted his old vocation of clerk, abandoned his old walk in Broadway, and, like Admiral Landais, 'disappeared,' but not, I believe, like him, to another life. I have heard that his furnace has again been seen smoking behind a comfortable German stone house in the comfortable borough of Easton—a residence which he chose, not merely on account of its cheapness of living, nor its picturesque situation, but chiefly, I believe, for its neighborhood to Bethlehem, where dwelt a Moravian friend of his, attached to the same mysterious studies, and for its nearness to the inexhaustible coal-mines of Lehigh.

"As I write, my recollections of the past, both ludicrous and melancholy, crowd upon me. I might amuse my readers with a history of the 'Doctors' Mob,' which

happened some forty years ago, when the multitude, indignant with the physicians and surgeons for having, as was supposed, violated the repose of the dead, besieged them in their dwellings, with an intention to inflict justice upon them according to their own summary notions, obliging them to slip out at windows, creep behind beer-barrels, crawl up chimneys, and get beneath feather-beds; and when the grave gentlemen of the healing art were fed in dark places, like hunted rebels or persecuted prophets, for three days and three nights. I might give my readers a peep into the little dark room in Pine Street, where Brown used to frame his gloomy and interesting fictions without any aid from the picturesque, and entangle his heroes in one difficulty after another, without knowing how he should extricate them. I might show residing in that part of Pearl Street now enlarged into Hanover Square, but then a dark and narrow passage, the famous General Moreau, who, when told that the street was not fashionable, replied that he 'lived in de house, and not in de street'—a conceited grammarian, talking absurdly of that science, and magnifying his supposed discovery of three thousand new adverbs, but otherwise gentlemanly, intelligent, and agreeable, and fortunate in his beautiful and accomplished wife. When I spoke of great men, I might touch upon the tragic and untimely end of one of our greatest—Hamilton—brought over from the fatal spot where he fell to expire in the hospitable mansion of Mr. Bayard, on the green shore of the Hudson. I well recollect the day of his death, a fine day in July; and the bright sunshine, the smiling beauty of the spot, the cheerful sound of birds and rustling boughs, and the twinkling waters of the river, contrasted strangely and unnaturally with the horror-struck countenances and death-like silence of the great multitude that gathered round the dwelling. I will not attempt to describe the scene.

"In this city especially, it is of more importance to preserve the recollection of these things, since here the progress of continual alteration is so rapid, that a few years effect what in Europe is the work of centuries, and sweep away both the memory and the external vestiges of the generation that precedes us.

"I was forcibly struck with this last reflection, when not long since I took a walk with my friend, Mr. De Viellecour, during his last visit to New York, over what I recollected as the play-ground of myself and my companions in the time of my boyhood, and what Mr. De Viellecour remembered as the spot where his contemporaries at an early period used to shoot quails and woodcocks. We passed over a part of the city which in my time had been hills, hollows, marshes, and rivulets, without having observed anything to awaken in either of us a recollection of what the place was before the surface had been leveled and the houses erected, until, arriving at the corner of Charlton and Varick Streets, we came to an edifice utterly dissimilar to anything around it.* It was a wooden building of massive architecture, with a lofty portico supported by Ionic columns, the front walls decorated with pilasters of the same order, and its whole appearance distinguished by that Palladian character of rich though sober ornament, which indicated that it had been built about the middle of the last century. We both stopped involuntarily, and at the same moment, before it.

"'If I did not see that house on a flat plain,' said Mr. De Viellecour, 'penned in by this little gravelly courtyard, and surrounded by these starveling catalpas and horse-chestnuts, I should say at once that it was a mansion which I very well remember, where in my youth I passed many pleasant hours in the society of its hospita-

* RICHMOND HILL, formerly Burr's residence. See Appendix No. II.

ble owner, and where, afterward, when I had the honor of representing my country in the Assembly, which then sat in New York, I had the pleasure of dining officially with Vice-President Adams. That house resembled this exactly ; but then it was upon a noble hill, several hundred feet in height, commanding a view of the river and of the Jersey shore. There was a fine, rich lawn around it, shaded by large and venerable oaks and lindens, and skirted on every side by a young but thrifty natural wood of an hundred acres or more.'

"Perceiving it to be a house of public entertainment, I proposed to Mr. Vielécour that we should enter it. We went into a spacious hall, with a small room on each side opening to more spacious apartments beyond. 'Yes,' said Mr. Vielécour, 'this is certainly the house I spoke of.' He immediately, with the air of a man accustomed to the building, opened a side-door on the right, and began to ascend a wide staircase with a heavy mahogany railing. It conducted us to a large room on the second story, with wide Venetian windows in front, and a door opening to a balcony under the portico. 'Yes,' said my friend, 'here was the dining room. There, in the center of the table, sat Vice-President Adams in full dress, with his bag and *solitaire*, his hair frizzed out each side of his face, as you see it in Stuart's older pictures of him. On his right sat Baron Steuben, our royalist republican disciplinarian general. On his left was Mr. Jefferson, who had just returned from France, conspicuous in his red waistcoat and breeches, the fashion of Versailles. Opposite sat Mrs. Adams, with her cheerful, intelligent face. She was placed between the courtly Count Du Moustiers, the French ambassador, in his red-heeled shoes and ear-rings, and the grave, polite, and formally-bowing Mr. Van Birkel, the learned and able envoy of Holland. There, too, was Chancellor Livingston, then still in the prime of life, so deaf as to make

conversation with him difficult, yet so overflowing with wit, eloquence, and information, that while listening to him the difficulty was forgotten. The rest were members of Congress and of our Legislature, some of them no inconsiderable men.

“ ‘Being able to talk French—a rare accomplishment in America at that time—a place was assigned to me next the count. The dinner was served up after the fashion of that day, abundant, and, as was then thought, splendid. Du Moustiers, after taking a little soup, kept an empty plate before him, took now and then a crumb of bread into his mouth, and declined all the luxuries of the table that were pressed upon him, from the roast-beef down to the lobsters. We were all in perplexity to know how the count could dine, when at length his own body-cook, in a clean, white linen cap, a clean, white *tablier* before him, a brilliantly white damask *serviette* flung over his arm, and a warm pie of truffles and game in his hand, came bustling eagerly through the crowd of waiters, and placed it before the count, who, reserving a moderate share to himself, distributed the rest among his neighbors, of whom being one, I can attest to the truth of the story, and the excellence of the *pâté*. But come, let us go and look at the fine view from the balcony.’

“My friend stepped out at the door, and I followed him. The worthy old gentleman seemed much disappointed at finding the view he spoke of confined to the opposite side of Varick Street, built up with two-story brick houses, while a half-a-dozen ragged boys were playing marbles on the sidewalks. ‘Well,’ said he, ‘the view is gone, that is clear enough; but I cannot, for my part, understand how the house has got so much lower than formerly.’

“I explained to my friend the omnipotence of the Corporation, by which every high hill has been brought low, and every valley exalted, and by which I presumed this

house had been abased to a level with its humbler neighbors, the hill on which it stood having been literally dug away from under it, and the house gently let down, without disturbing its furniture, by the mechanical genius and dexterity of some of our Eastern brethren.

“‘This is wrong!’ said the old gentleman; ‘these New-Yorkers seem to take a pleasure in defacing the monuments of the good old times, and of depriving themselves of all venerable and patriotic associations. This house should have been continued in its old situation, on its own original and proper eminence, where its very aspect would have suggested its history. It was built upward of seventy years ago by a gallant British officer, who had done good service to his native country and to this. Here Lord Amherst was entertained and held his head-quarters at the close of those successful American campaigns which, by the way, prevented half the State of New York from now being a part of Canada. Here were afterward successively the quarters of several of our American generals in the beginning of the Revolution, and again after the evacuation of the city. Here John Adams lived as Vice-President during the time that Congress sat in New York; and here Aaron Burr, during the whole of his Vice-Presidency, kept up an elegant hospitality, and filled the room in which we stand with a splendid library, equally indicative of his taste and scholarship. The last considerable man that lived here was Counselor Benzon, afterward Governor of the Danish islands,—a man who, like you, Mr. Herbert, had traveled in every part of the world, knew everything, and talked all languages. I recollect dining here in company with thirteen gentlemen, none of whom I ever saw before, but all pleasant fellows, all men of education and some note—the Counselor, a Norwegian, I, the only American, the rest of every different nation in Europe, and no two of the same, and all of us talking bad French.

“ ‘There are few old houses,’ continued Mr. De Viellecour, ‘with the sight of which my youth was familiar, that I find here now. Two or three, however, I still recognize. One of these is the house built by my friend, Chief-Justice Jay, in the lower part of Broadway, and now occupied as a boarding-house. It is, as you know, a large, square three-story house, of hewn stone, as substantially built within as without; durable, spacious, and commodious; and, like the principles of the builder, always useful and excellent, whether in or out of fashion.’

“ ‘I believe he did not reside there long?’ said I.

“ ‘No; he soon afterward removed into the house built by the State for the Governors, and then to Albany, so that I saw little of him in that house beyond a mere morning visit or two. No remaining object brings him to my mind so strongly as the square pew in Trinity Church, about the center of the north side of the north aisle. It is now, like everything else in New York, changed. It is divided into several smaller pews, though still retaining, externally, its original form. That pew was the scene of his regular, sober, unostentatious devotion, and I never look at it without a feeling of veneration. But, Mr. Herbert, can you tell me what is become of the house of my other old friend, Governor George Clinton, of Greenwich?’

“ ‘It is still in existence,’ I answered, ‘although in very great danger of shortly being let down, like the one in which we now are.’

“ ‘When I was in the Assembly,’ pursued Mr. De Viellecour, ‘the Governor used to date his messages at Greenwich, near New York. Now, I suppose, the mansion is no longer *near*, but *in*, New York.’

“ ‘Not quite,’ I replied, ‘but doubtless will be, next year. In the meantime, the house looks as it did.’

“ ‘I remember it well—a long, low, venerable, irregular, white, cottage-like, brick-and-wood building, pleasant,

notwithstanding, with a number of small, low rooms, and one very spacious parlor, delightfully situated on a steep bank, some fifty feet above the shore, on which the waves of the Hudson and the tides of the bay dashed and sported. There was a fine orchard, too, and a garden on the north; but I suppose that if not gone, they are going, as they say in Pearl Street.'

" 'It is even so. Were you often there?'

" 'Not often; but I had there, too, divers official dinners, and at one of them I recollect sitting next to old Melancthon Smith, a self-taught orator, the eloquent opposer of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and the Patrick Henry of the New York Convention of 1788, who for weeks successfully resisted the powerful and discursive logic of Hamilton, and the splendid rhetoric of Robert R. Livingston. On my other side, and near the Governor, sat Brissot de Warville, then on a visit to this country, whose history as a benevolent, philosophic speculatist, an ardent though visionary republican, and one of the unfortunate leaders of the Gironde party in the French National Assembly, everybody knows.'

" 'But you say nothing of the Governor himself.'

" 'Oh, surely you must have known him! If you did not, Trumbull's full-length of him in the City Hall here, taken forty years ago, and Ceracchi's bust, of about the same date, will give you an excellent idea of his appearance.'

" 'Oh, yes, his appearance was familiar to me, and I knew him personally, too; but when I was in his company I was too young to have much conversation with him; and afterward, when he was last Governor, and during his Vice-Presidency, I was, you know, out of the country.'

" 'His conversation and manners in private corresponded exactly with his public character and his looks. His person and face had a general resemblance to those

of Washington; but, though always dignified, and in old age venerable, he had not that air of heroic elevation which threw such majesty around the Father of the Republic. There was a similar resemblance in mind. If he had the calm grandeur of Washington's intellect, he had the same plain, practical, sound, wholesome common sense, the same unpretending but unerring sagacity as to men and measures, the same directness of purpose and firmness of decision. These qualities were exerted, as Governor during our Revolution, with such effect that the people never forgot it, and they witnessed their gratitude by confiding to him the government of this State for twenty-one years, and the second office in the Union for eight more. His behavior in society was plain but dignified, his conversation easy, shrewd, sensible, and commonly about matters of fact—the events of the Revolution, the politics of the day, the useful arts, and agriculture.

“‘Is Hamilton's house still standing?’

“‘Not that in which he labored as Secretary of the Treasury to restore the ruined credit of the nation, and reduce our finances and revenue laws to order and uniformity—where he wrote the *Federalist*, and those admirable reports which now form the most luminous commentary upon our Constitution. That was in Wall Street; it has been pulled down, and its site is occupied by the Mechanics' Bank. His last favorite residence was the Grange, his country-seat at Bloomingdale, which, when I last saw it, remained much as he left it.’

“Mr. Viellecour and myself ordered some refreshment, as a kind of apology for the freedoms we had taken with the old mansion. On leaving it, we walked down Greenwich Street, moralizing, as we went, on the changes which time was working, so much more visibly in this little corner of the world than in any other part of it which I had seen—where the flight of years seemed swifter than

elsewhere, and to bring with it more striking moral lessons. After an absence of thirty years from the great cities of Europe, I beheld, when I revisited them, the same aspect—venerable still, yet neither newer nor older than before—the same order of streets, the same public buildings, the same offices, hotels, and shops, the same names on the signs, and found my way through their intricacies, as if I had left them but yesterday. Here, on the other hand, when I returned after an absence of two years, everything was strange, new, and perplexing, and I lost my way in streets which had been laid out since I left the city.

“My companion often stopped to look at houses and sites of which he had some remembrance. ‘There,’ said he, pointing to a modest-looking two-story dwelling in one of the cross-streets, ‘there died my good friend Mons. Albert, a minister of our French Protestant Church about twenty years ago, a very learned and eloquent divine, and the most modest man I ever knew. He was a native of Lausanne, a nephew of D’Yverdon, the friend of Gibbon, who figures in the correspondence and memoirs of the historian. Mons. Albert was much in the society of Gibbon, and has related to me many anecdotes of his literary habits and conversation.’

“‘I must not suffer you to monopolize all the recollections of the city,’ said I to my friend. ‘Observe, if you please, that house on the corner opposite the one to which you have directed my attention. There lived, for a time, my old acquaintance, Collies, a mathematician, a geographer, and a mechanic of no mean note. He was a kind of living antithesis, and I have often thought that nature made him expressly to illustrate that figure of rhetoric. He was a man of the most diminutive frame and the most gigantic conceptions, the humblest demeanor, and the boldest projects I ever knew. Forty years ago, his mind was teeming with plans of Western canals, steam-

boats, railroads, and other public enterprises, which in more fortunate and judicious hands have since proved fruitful of wealth to the community, and of merited honor to those who carried them through. Poor Collies had neither capital to undertake them himself, plausibility to recommend them to others, nor public character and station to give weight and authority to his opinions. So he schemed and toiled and calculated all his life, and died at eighty, without having gained either wealth for himself, or gratitude from the public. The marine telegraphs in this port are a monument of his ingenuity, for he was the first man of the country who established a regular and intelligible system of ship signals.'

"My friend stopped at some of the shops to make inquiries concerning the ancient inmates. At length I heard him asking for Adonis. 'Pray,' said I, 'who is this modern Adonis for whom you are inquiring? Some smooth, rose-cheeked boy, doubtless, like him of Mount Libanus.'

"'This Adonis, replied Mr. Viellecour, 'is neither a smooth nor rose-cheeked boy, being, in fact, a black old man, or rather gentleman, for a gentleman he is every inch of him, although a barber. I say *is*, for I hope he is still alive and well, although I have not seen him for some years. In this sneaking, fashion-conforming, selfish world, I hold in high honor any man who, for the sake of any principle, important or trifling, right or wrong, so it be without personal interest, will for years submit to inconvenience or ridicule. Adonis submitted to both, and for principle's sake.'

"'Principle's sake! Upon what head?'

"'Upon his own, sir, or upon Louis the Sixteenth's, just as you please. Adonis was an old French negro, whom the convulsions attendant in the West Indies upon the French revolution threw upon our shores, and who held

in the utmost horror all Jacobinical and republican abominations. He had an instinctive sagacity as to what was genteel and becoming in manners and behavior, as well as in the cut of a gentleman's hair, or the curl of a lady's. He had attended to the progress of the French revolution with the greatest interest, and his feelings were excited to the highest pitch when he heard of the beheading of the French king and the banishment of the royal family. He then deliberately renounced the French nation and their *canaille parvenue* rulers, and, in testimony of the sincerity of his indignation and grief, took off his hat and vowed never to put it on again until the Bourbons should be restored to the throne. This vow he faithfully kept. For twenty-one years, through all weather, did he walk the streets of New York bare-headed, carrying his hat under his arm with the air of a courtier, filled with combs, scissors, and other implements of his trade, until his hair, which was of the deepest black when he first took it off, had become as white as snow. For my part, I confess I never saw him, on my occasional visits to the city, walking to the houses of his customers without his hat, but I felt inclined to take off my own to him. Like all the rest of the world, I took it for granted that the loyal old negro would never wear his hat again. At length, in the year 1814, the French armed schooner ———, with the white flag flying, arrived in the port of New York, bringing the first intelligence of the return of the Bourbons to their throne and kingdom. Adonis would not believe the report that flew like wild-fire about the city. He would not trust the translations from the French gazettes that were read to him in the American papers by his customers, but walked down to the Battery with the same old hat under his arm which he had carried there for twenty years, saw the white flag with his own eyes, heard the news in French from the mouth of the cook on board the

vessel, and then, waving his hat three times in the air, gave three huzzas, and replaced it on his head with as much heart-felt pride as Louis the Eighteenth could have done his crown.'

"I could not help smiling at the earnest gravity of the old gentleman's eulogy upon Adonis. 'I fear,' said I, 'that your chivalric *coiffeur* owes a little of his sentimental loyalty to your own admiration of everything generous and disinterested. When you are excited on this head, sir, you often remind me of what old Fuseli, in his energetic style, used to say of his great idol, Michael Angelo—'All that he touched was indiscriminately stamped with his own grandeur. A beggar rose from his hands the patriarch of poverty; the very hump of his dwarf is impressed with dignity.' I suspect you have been unconsciously playing the Michael Angelo in lighting up such a halo of consecrated glory round the bare and time-honored head of old Adonis. I am afraid I cannot do quite as much for another tonsorial artist of great celebrity who flourished here in our days, but whom, as at that time you were not much in the habit of coming to town, perhaps you do not remember. He made no claim to chivalry or romance—his sole ambition was to be witty and poetical; and witty he certainly was, as well as the vehicle and conduit of innumerable good pleasantries of other people. I mean John Desborus Huggins.'

"'Huggins—Huggins,' said Mr. De Viellecour. 'I knew a young lady of that name once; she is now Mrs. —, the fashionable milliner.'

"'Oh, yes; that incident of your life cannot easily lose its place in my memory.' But John Desborus Huggins was no relation of hers. He was of pure English blood, and had no kindred on this side of the Atlantic. At the beginning of this century, and for a dozen years after, he was the most fashionable, as well as the most accom-

plished, artist in this city for heads, male or female. He had a shop in Broadway, a low wooden building, where now towers a tall brick pile, opposite the City Hotel. This was literally the head-quarters of fashion; and fortune, as usual, followed in the train of fashion. But Huggins had a soul that scorned to confine its genius to the external decoration of his customers' heads. He panted after wider fame; he had cut Washington Irving's hair; he had shaved Anacreon Moore, and Joel Barlow on his first return from France; from them, when he was here, he caught the strong contagion of authorship. One day he wrote a long advertisement, in which he ranged from his own shop in Broadway to high and bold satire upon those who held the helm of state at Washington, mimicked Jefferson's style, and cracked some good-humored jokes upon Giles and Randolph. He carried it to the *Evening Post*. The editor, the late Mr. Coleman, you know, was a man of taste as well as a keen politician. He pruned off Huggins's exuberances, corrected his English, threw in a few pungent sarcasms of his own, and printed it.

“It had forthwith a run through all the papers on the Federal side of the question in the United States, and as many of the others as could relish a good joke, though at the expense of their own party. The name of Huggins became known from Georgia to Maine. Huggins tried a second advertisement of the same sort—a third, a fourth, with equal success. His fame as a wit was now established, business flowed in upon him in full and unebbing tide. Wits and would-be wits, fashionables and would-be fashionables, thronged his shop; strangers from North and from South had their heads cropped and their chins scraped by him for the sake of saying, on their return home, that they had seen Huggins; whilst, during the party-giving season, he was under orders from the ladies every day and hour for three weeks ahead. But alas, unhappy man! he

had now a literary reputation to support, and his invention, lively and sparkling as it had been at first, soon began to run dry. He was now obliged to tax his friends and patrons for literary assistance. Mr. Coleman was too deeply engaged in the daily discussion of grave topics to continue his help. In the kindness of my excellent friend, the late Anthony Bleecker, he found for a long time a never-failing resource. You were not much acquainted with Bleecker, I think, the most honorable, the most amiable, and the most modest of human beings. Fraught with talent, taste, and literature, a wit and a poet, he rarely appeared in public as an author himself, while his careless generosity furnished the best part of their capital to dozens of literary adventurers, sometimes giving them style for their thoughts, and sometimes thoughts for their style. Bleecker was too kindly tempered for a partisan politician, and his contributions to Huggins were either good-natured pleasantries upon the fashions or frivolities of the day, or else classical imitations and spirited parodies in flowing and polished versification. Numerous other wits and wittings, when Bleecker grew tired of it, some of whom had neither his taste nor his nice sense of gentlemanly decorum, began to contribute, until at length Huggins found himself metamorphosed into the regular Pasquin of New York, on whom, as on a mutilated old statue of that name at Rome, every wag stuck his anonymous epigram, joke, satire, or lampoon, whatever was unseemly in his eyes or unsavory in his nostrils in this good city. I believe he was useful, however. If his humanities had not been too much neglected in his youth to allow him to quote Latin, he might have asked with Horace—*Ridentem dicere verum*—”

“ ‘My dear sir,’ interrupted the old gentleman, ‘if you will quote, and I see you are getting into one of your quoting moods, you had better quote old Kats, my maternal

grandmother's favorite book, the great poet of Holland and common sense. He has said it better than Horace: "Haar lagehend coysheid laert, haar spelend vormt ter deuyd." You ought always to quote old Kats, whenever you can, for I suspect that you and I and Judge Benson are the only natives south of the Highlands who can read him. But to return to your barber-author.'

" 'Huggins became as fond and as proud of these contributions as if he had written them all himself, and at last collected them and printed them together in one goodly volume, entitled *Hugginiana*, illustrated with designs by Jarvis, and wood-cuts by Anderson. He was now an author in all the forms. Luckless author! His vaulting ambition overleaped itself. He sent a copy of his book to the *Edinburgh Review*, then in the zenith of its glory, and the receipt was never acknowledged. He sent another copy to Dennie, whose *Port Folio* then guided the literary taste of this land, and Dennie noticed it only in a brief and cold paragraph. What was excellent in a newspaper *jeu d'esprit*, whilst events and allusions were fresh, lost, of course, much of its relish when served up cold, years after, in a clumsy duodecimo. Besides, not having been able to prevail on himself to part with anything which had once appeared under his name, much very inferior matter was suffered to overlay those sprightly articles which had first given him *éclat*. Then the town critics assailed him, and that "most delicate monster," the public, who had laughed at every piece, good, bad, and indifferent, singly in succession, now that the whole was collected, became fastidious, and, at the instigation of the the critics aforesaid, pronounced the book to be "low." Frightful sentence! Huggins never held up his head after it. His razors and scissors lost their edge, his napkins and aprons their lustrous whiteness, and his conversation its soft spirit and vivacity. His affairs all went wrong thence-

forward, and whatever might have been the immediate cause of his death, which took place a year or two after, the real and efficient reason was undoubtedly mortified literary pride. "Around his tomb," as old Johnson says of Archbishop Laud—

"'Around his tomb, let arts and genius weep,
But hear his death, ye blockheads, hear and sleep.'"

"We had now got far down into the old part of the city, when, turning up Vesey Street from Greenwich, Mr. De Viellecour made a sudden pause. 'Ah,' said he, 'one more vestige of the past. There,' pointing to a common-looking old house, 'there, in 1790, was the *atelier* of Ceracchi, when he was executing his fine busts of our great American statesmen.'

"'Indeed!' answered I. 'I have often thought of it as a singular piece of natural good fortune, that, at a time when our native arts were at so low an ebb, we had such an artist thrown upon our shores to perpetuate the true and living likenesses of our Revolutionary chiefs and sages. Ceracchi's busts of Washington, Jay, Alexander Hamilton, George Clinton, and others, are now, as mere portraits, above all price to this nation; and they have, besides, a classic grace about them which entitles the artist to no contemptible rank as a statuary.'

"'It was not a piece of mere good fortune,' said my friend; 'we have to thank the artist himself for it. Ceracchi was a zealous republican, and he came here full of enthusiasm, anxious to identify his own name in the arts somehow or other with our infant republic—and he has done it. He had a grand design of a national monument, which he used to show to his visitors, and which he wished Congress to employ him to execute in marble or bronze. Of course they did not do so; and, as it happened, he was much more usefully employed for the nation in modeling the busts of our great men.'

“‘He was an Italian—I believe a Roman—and had lived some time in England, where he was patronized by Reynolds. Sir Joshua (no mean proof of his talent) sat to him for a bust, and a fine one, I am told, it is. Ceracchi came to America enthusiastic for liberty, and he found nothing here to make him change his principles or feelings. But the nation was not ripe for statuary: a dozen busts exhausted the patronage of the country, and Congress was too busy with pounds, shillings, and pence, fixing the revenue laws, and funding the debt, to think of his grand allegorical monument. Ceracchi could not live upon liberty alone, much as he loved it; and, when the French Revolution took a very decided character, he went to France, and plunged into politics. Some years after, he returned to Rome, where he was unfortunately killed in an insurrection or popular tumult, growing out of the universal revolutionary spirit of those times.’

“‘May his remains rest in peace,’ added I. ‘Whatever higher works of art he may have left elsewhere—and he who could produce those fine classic, historical busts, was undoubtedly capable of greater things—whatever else he may have left in Europe, here his will be an enduring name. As long as Americans shall hold in honored remembrance the memory of their first and best patriots,—as long as our sons shall look with reverent interest on their sculptured images, the name of Ceracchi will be cherished here:

“‘And while along the stream of time, their name
Expanded flies and gathers all its fame;
Still shall his little bark attendant sail,
Pursue the triumph and partake the gale.”’

“We had now finished our long walk, and, as the old gentleman was going into his lodgings, I took leave of him, saying that our afternoon’s walk had furnished me with the materials, and I was now going home to record our conversation as a chapter of ‘Reminiscences of New York.’”

CHAPTER VII.

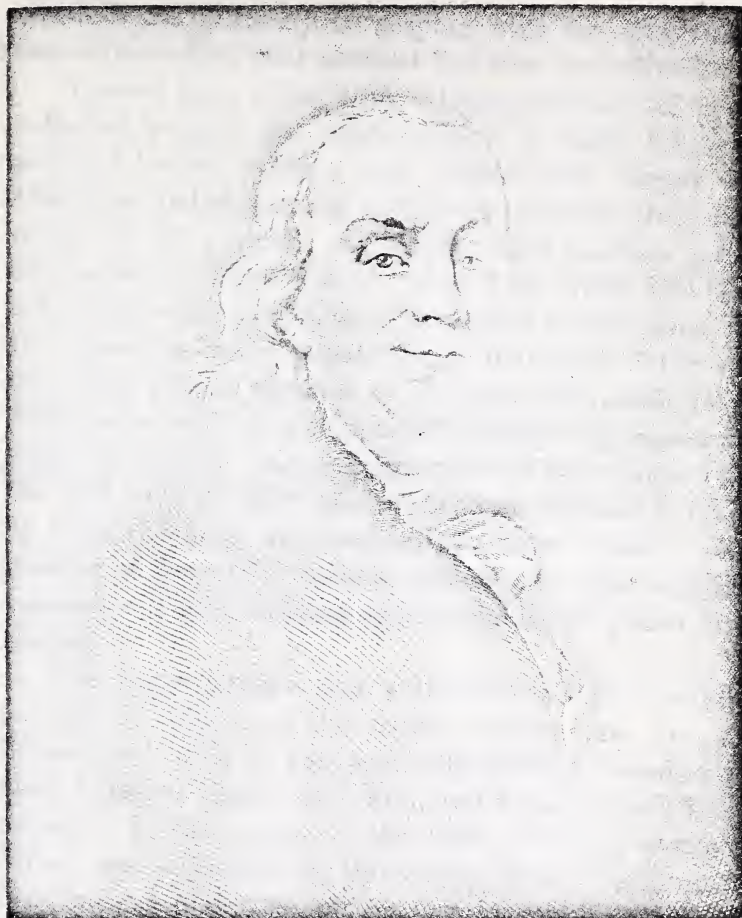
THE year 1834* may with propriety be called the YEAR OF RIOTS. In that year, the civil authorities were obliged, for the first time, to call for military aid to 1834. assist in maintaining the peace of the city. It was on the 10th of April, during the municipal election,† that the services of the National Guard were called into requisition—a call, says a chronicler of that day, which “was responded to with an alacrity that produced a very striking impression on the minds of the people.”‡

The elections, at that time, were held for three successive days; and, in the inefficient condition of the city police, they were oftentimes the cause of great excitement and turbulence. On the present occasion, party strife ran high, and gave rise to a series of brawls and riots in the

* From the year 1829 to the present year (1834), there is no event in the history of the city—with the exception of the cholera in 1832—that calls for particular mention. The cholera of 1832 (which then visited the city for the first time) raged to a fearful extent, “almost depopulating the city, and creating a universal panic among the inhabitants. It returned two years afterward, modified in violence, then disappeared entirely until 1849, when it broke out early in the summer, and raged fearfully until autumn.” In 1855, it again appeared, nor has it since wholly abandoned the city.

† It was in 1834 that the Mayor was elected by the city for the first time. Hitherto, as mentioned in a preceding note, that office had been filled by appointment by the Governor and Council.

‡ Asher Taylor.



Benj.ⁿ Franklin

Sixth Ward, perfectly in keeping with the questionable reputation which that precinct has ever maintained.*

Toward noon of the 10th, a large concourse of people collected around the head-quarters of their respective political leaders, whence they sallied forth, armed with bludgeons and stones, and endeavored to drive their opponents off the ground. At length, their passions getting the mastery of their reason, many from either side made a dash upon the gun-shops in Broadway for fire-arms. By this time the entire population of that part of the city, becoming greatly alarmed at the probable result of the disturbance, were in a condition to believe any report that might be started. Accordingly, when it was rumored that the mob were on their way to the State Arsenal to obtain by force the arms and ammunition there stored, a large number of peaceable citizens hastened to seize and hold possession of that building against the fighting men of all parties.

The State Arsenal was a three-story brick building (erected in 1808), on the corner of Elm and Franklin Streets, and, with its yard and out-buildings, occupied the block between Center and Elm, and Franklin and White Streets. In the center of the front, facing on Franklin Street, was a handsome three-story brick dwelling, the residence, at that time, of the Commissary General, who had charge of the establishment.

The party that made for the Arsenal was increased on the way by a large crowd, actuated by various motives. Some were for peace, and some for war; while many were in for anything that might turn up. Gaining access to the yard and obtaining the keys of the main building in which the arms were deposited, the party armed themselves, and prepared to defend the establishment from the belligerent crowds who, they apprehended, might make an attempt

* Hence its appellation—"The Bloody *ould* Sixth."

upon it—a course which their own hasty action was well calculated to invite.

The news of the attack on the Arsenal and its capture spread, greatly exaggerated, like wild-fire throughout the city, and, superadded to the stories of war already afloat, created an alarm unprecedented heretofore in the civil history of the city. Meanwhile, Mayor Lee called for military aid upon General Morton, who acted with such promptitude that in a very short space of time most of the members of the Twenty-seventh regiment had assembled at the Arsenal, armed and uniformed. The irregular force that had been holding the establishment at once retired, and left it in charge of the soldiers; and the turbulence and disorder soon subsiding, the peace of the city was restored.

After midnight, the Mayor visited the garrison, and relieved the regiment from further duty, thanking the men for their prompt response to his call for aid, and declaring emphatically that “the city had been in a *state of insurrection*, beyond the power of the civil authorities to control or subdue.”

“The people of the city, of all classes, were enlightened by the novel experience of that day—the mass of quiet citizens, by the knowledge that a disorderly element existed in their midst of a most formidable and alarming character, spreading widely, and including parties and classes before undreamed of in such connections; and the civil authorities, by the assurance that they possessed a power and a force hitherto untried, reliable, and at ready command for such emergencies, which was deemed by them of incalculable importance; and the members of the National Guard, by the evidence that had passed under their observation, that *on their organization*, in a great measure, the orderly people and the civil authorities of the city must rely for their future security of ‘life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness’ within its borders. The

reflections called up by the events of that day sank deeper in the minds of observing and thinking men than appeared at the moment."*

In reference to the duties of the 10th of April, the Common Council passed the following resolution :

"That the thanks of the Common Council be presented to the individuals who thus nobly sustained their reputation as citizen soldiers, and proved the importance and the necessity to the city of a well-disciplined militia, in time of peace as well as in time of war."

Major-General Morton, in promulgating the resolution of the Common Council, adds

"Next to the satisfaction arising from the consciousness of having performed a duty, is the approbation of those whose good opinion we prize. These resolutions, emanating from the municipal authorities of our city, cannot, therefore, but be highly gratifying.

"The late occurrences will show to the public the necessity and the use of a well-regulated militia, prepared at all times to support the magistracy in sustaining law and order in the community. It will confirm us in the opinion, long entertained, that the time has not yet arrived when we may beat our swords into plowshares, and our spears into pruning-hooks.

"The Major-General doubts not that the corps will still continue to perform their duties; they will be sustained by their fellow-citizens, who will see in them, not the array of an uncontrolled force, but a power directed by the venerable majesty of the laws in the persons of the magistrates."

On the 21st of June, Major-General Morton "had the melancholy duty to announce to the Division the death of General LAFAYETTE," in France, on the 20th of May preceding, in the ninety-seventh year of his age. The General thus concluded :

"But a few years since we were engaged in welcoming him, with joyful and grateful hearts, as one of the soldiers of our Revolution, and the adopted son of our country. We are now called upon to pay funeral honors to his memory.

"The Common Council have resolved to pay funeral honors to the deceased, and have invited the corps to unite with them on the occasion.

* *Recollections of the Seventh Regiment.*

"The Division is therefore ordered for duty on the 26th inst.," on which day the regiment united in an imposing military and civic demonstration in celebration of the funeral obsequies of the *last General officer of the Revolution*, "the confidential friend of the great Washington, and the adopted son of our country—the illustrious MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE."

Three months after the National Guard had quelled the "Election Riot," they were again called upon to put down a disturbance of a much more formidable character.

For several months in the early part of the year there had been considerable feeling against certain citizens entertaining anti-slavery opinions, or, as they were from this period styled, "*Abolitionists*," who were holding a series of public meetings in which, as their opponents alleged, they "indulged in the most latitudinarian discussions, and violent and exciting declamations in favor of their peculiar views, and in denunciation of all adverse to them."

Some of the leading party newspapers of the day, also, pandered to the prejudices of the lower classes of the community, and suggested a course of open hostility and acts of violence, with the view of making short work of the "pestilent faction." At the same time it must be admitted that the Abolitionists themselves were not without blame, and, in many instances, exhibited a "zeal without knowledge." Indeed, their conduct was in some respects most reprehensible; for, while the excitement was almost at its height, among other things calculated to inflame their opponents, they posted an incendiary placard all over the city, headed,

"LOOK OUT FOR KIDNAPPING!!"

Then followed a cut representing a negro-driver mounted on a horse, with a double-thonged whip, driving before him a colored man, whose wife and children were cling-

ing to him to prevent the unnatural separation. The result may easily be seen. The meetings of the Abolitionists were attacked and broken up; and the mob, "increasing in boldness under the promptings and encouragement of their friends and advisers," as in the case of the "Draft Riot" in 1863, proceeded to the dwellings of Arthur and Lewis Tappan, on Rose Street, and other well-known and reputable citizens who were specially obnoxious, and, in their own expressive slang, "went through them," breaking furniture, and burning such pieces as were too heavy to be lifted. At length, a proclamation from the Mayor, and several troops of the city cavalry called out for the occasion, having failed to disperse the rioters, who were every moment becoming more violent and threatening, that personage, on the afternoon of the 11th of July, called upon the National Guard (the Twenty-seventh regiment) for assistance. The men responded with alacrity, and in two hours from the time of receiving their orders had assembled in the Arsenal yard, to the number of four hundred.

Upon being directed by the Mayor to march with his command to the City Hall and hold himself in readiness for such action as might be required, Colonel Stevens asked for a supply of ammunition before he moved. To this request the Mayor at first gave a refusal; but, upon the Colonel telling him decidedly that he should not advance a step without it, he gave a reluctant consent, and six rounds of ball-cartridges were thereupon served out to the regiment.*

* "Colonel Stevens used, in after times, often to speak of his anxiety at the time as to how 'his boys' would conduct themselves in this their first appearance in such a trying position. They were, a large portion of them, quite young, and had had but little training of their minds to the reality of such grave duties as were then before them; he watched, with no little solicitude, their reception of the ball-cartridges, which seemed a novelty to many of them; they turned them over in their hands as if surprised at their appearance, and

The troops then marched down Broadway to the Park. The street was filled with an excited crowd of rowdies, who assailed the men at every step with hisses and hootings. The mob and the riotous proceedings seemed, in fact, to be "rather popular with the people generally, even of the better classes, who were in the streets looking on." This ill-judged sympathy and the insults of the rowdies, however, had the effect, the Colonel observed, of exciting the "boys" to a proper pitch of feeling for the occasion, so that by the time they reached the Park "nothing would have suited them better than an order to 'pitch into' their blackguard assailants." The regiment remained for a considerable time in front of the City Hall, marching and countermarching in presence of the collected crowd, that the latter might see that they were ready for the work on hand. This came sooner, perhaps, than was expected.

About ten o'clock in the evening, word was brought of a large and disorderly gathering in the vicinity of the Spring-street Church (Rev. Mr. Ludlow's), between Macdougall and Varick Streets. This was one of the most obnoxious points, several meetings of the Abolitionists having been held there, and the minister of the congregation being understood to be among the most zealous of that class. It was feared that the rioters intended to destroy the church building, and Colonel Stevens was ordered to march as quickly as possible to the scene of the riot. Before moving, he gave the order to load with ball-cartridges; "and closely watching, with no little interest, the motions of the men, he was satisfied, from the jerk and emphasis with which the 'ram down' was given, that they were all right, and that there would be no hesitation

appeared to be remarking to each other upon the new and strange position in which they found themselves; they all, however, he noted, placed the cartridges in their boxes."—*Recollections of the Seventh Regiment.*

or hanging back on their part when the time came for action."

The churches, indeed, seemed to be the special object of dislike to the rioters. Besides Rev. Mr. Ludlow's church, on Spring Street, the mob made demonstrations against Dr. Cox's church, corner of Laight and Varick Streets; the African Chapel, corner of Leonard and Church; St. Philip's Church (also a colored Church), on Center Street, and a church corner of Dey and Washington Streets. The residence of Dr. Cox was also attacked; but fortunately the Doctor and his family, having received notice of the intentions of the mob, had, a few hours before, packed up their furniture and moved to the house of a friend.

The regiment first met the rioters in large force in Thompson Street, above Prince, where they were preparing to sack the parsonage of the Spring-street Church. This, however, was prevented by the timely appearance of the troops, who, pressing forward with the bayonet, compelled the mob to fall back. All the streets in the vicinity were filled with angry faces, on which the most malignant and diabolical passions were depicted; and as the regiment wheeled from Macdougall into Spring Street, to protect the church—the especial object of the fury of the mob—the men were assailed with stones and other missiles thrown from windows and from the crowd, by which many were hit, and several were felled to the ground. This so exasperated the soldiers that it was only with the greatest difficulty they were restrained from at once opening fire. "A striking feature of this occasion," says General Prosper M. Wetmore, who was present, "was the shower of sparks struck out by the stones glancing on the bayonets and barrels of the muskets."

Near the church the regiment encountered a barricade of carts, barrels, and ladders chained together, planted

across the street. On top of this obstruction a City Hall politician was haranguing and encouraging the mob to further resistance and deeds of outrage. He, however, was quickly disposed of, and, with a dozen men of the same stripe, sent to the rear under guard. The troops had not arrived a moment too soon. Already a portion of the pews and furniture had been thrown into the street, and one of the rioters was in the steeple ringing the bell, to attract the mob. He, too, was immediately seized and placed in custody; and "the church cleared of its irreverent congregation."

At this juncture, the Aldermen who had been deputed by Mayor Lawrence to accompany the military, and to direct, as magistrates, the action of the regiment, became greatly alarmed, and, having entered into negotiations for an armistice, agreed to a cessation of hostilities upon a promise of some of the mob to disperse. Accordingly, they endeavored to prevail on Colonel Stevens to "retreat" to the City Hall, asserting that the rioters were too formidable for his little band to contend with. To this the Colonel answered that "there was no *retreat* in the case; that he was there with his regiment for the purpose of dispersing the mob and quelling the riot; that he should not retire until that was done; and that he should proceed to the City Hall *only through that crowd*.* He then, in defiance of the orders of the Aldermen again reiterated, moved two companies up to the barricade under a shower of stones, broke it up, and, marching through the *débris*, wheeled into Varick Street, driving the mob before him at the point of the bayonet. Here he met Justice Olin M. Lowndes,† who had formerly been a captain in the regiment, with a force of police, and, thus reinforced, he

* Can it be that General Grant borrowed his famous phrase of "fighting it out on this line" from these words of Colonel Stevens!

† Justice, not Sheriff, Lowndes, as Asher Taylor states.

turned round and marched back against the mob. Charging with prolonged cheers through the remains of the barricade, the troops and police pushed the rioters rapidly back to Sullivan Street. Here Colonel Stevens halted his first division, holding Spring Street in that direction, and, wheeling the second across Sullivan Street, and the third and fourth to the left, facing opposite, he held securely all the streets, severed the mob into four pieces, and thus restored order in that section of the city.

The whole performance of the regiment, says Asher Taylor, was admirable. The men were assailed with stones and every offensive missile, and some of them were spit upon by the rabble. A number of them were struck and severely bruised. The sergeant-major was felled to the ground at the side of his colonel; notwithstanding which, with a forbearance from retaliation, and a subordination to discipline, truly surprising, and reflecting the highest credit on the commanding officer and all engaged in the duty, the colonel, elated at having accomplished his ends without resorting to the use of fire-arms, joyously exclaimed, "A victory, without firing a shot!"

On their way back to the City Hall, the troops marched through Center Street, and quickly put to flight a party of the rioters that was assailing St. Philip's (colored) Church.

The regiment was put on duty again the next afternoon; but, with the exception of slight disturbances at the head of Catharine Street, near Chatham Square, and in Greenwich village, the night passed off quietly. The troops, however, were kept under arms until Sunday, the 13th, at three o'clock, when they were dismissed to their homes, with orders to hold themselves in readiness to re-assemble at three strokes of the City Hall bell. Happily their services were not again required. The mob had been effectually put down, and peace was again restored.

Scarcely, however, had the troops been dismissed, and the city restored to quiet, when, in August, their services were again called upon to suppress a riot among the stone-cutters and masons. The cause of the disturbance was as follows: While the University was building, the contractors, for economy's sake, chose to purchase the marble at Sing-Sing, and employ the State prisoners to cut and hew it before bringing it to the city. No sooner was this known than it raised the ire of the stone-cutters' guild in the city to fever heat. Believing themselves aggrieved, they held meetings, paraded the city with incendiary placards, and even went so far as to attack the houses of several worthy citizens. The Twenty-seventh regiment was again called out by the Mayor, Cornelius W. Lawrence (who, by the way, seems to have had as Mayor a pretty severe term), and, commanded by Colonel Stevens, dispersed the malcontents. The feeling, however, was so intense that it was thought best not to disband the troops entirely; and, accordingly, a portion of the regiment lay under arms in Washington parade-ground for four days and nights. By that time the riot was over, and the soldiers were dismissed to their homes. Thus three times, within as many months, had the militia of the city been called upon, at the risk of life, to put down riots in the city. No wonder, therefore, that a prominent citizen of New York wrote at this time to a friend in a neighboring city: "Buy me a quiet place in the suburbs, and, if necessary to complete the sale, draw on me for the amount. I cannot live here longer, for my property is not safe."*

*The houses on the north-west corner of Fifth Avenue and Eighteenth Street, now owned by Mrs. T. Bailey Myers and Mrs. Sidney Mason, were built by Robert C. Townsend and Henry H. Elliott, from Sing-Sing marble, and were, like the University, also delayed by the "Stone-cutters' Riot." These buildings were, with the University, the last ones erected by material from that source.

In the early summer of this year, the city was once more thrown into excitement by what is known as "The Five Points Riot." For several years previous, and more especially since the election ^{1835.} brawls of the preceding year (1834), the antagonistic spirit between the Irish and Americans, which resulted many years after in the formation of the Know-nothing party, had been increasing in bitterness; and when, in June of this year, it was reported that a regiment, under the name of the "O'Connell Guards," was about to be organized in the city, the indignation of a portion of the native American population rose to fever heat. Many styled this "the making of an *Irish* regiment out of American citizens," and vowed that they would prevent its formation at all hazards. Demagogues, as is always the case at such times, were not wanting to encourage this feeling for base partisan ends; mutual recriminations followed; and, finally, the angry passions thus engendered culminated in open violence.

On Sunday, the 21st of June, the peace of the city was disturbed and the sanctity of the Sabbath violated by riots of greater or lesser magnitude in different quarters of the town. One of these was in Grand Street, near Crosby. Another occurred in Chatham Street, which, having its rise in a quarrel between a negro and a white, soon grew into a general battle, and was only quelled by the police with considerable difficulty. The third and greatest riot, however, of that day took place early in the evening in the Sixth Ward, the scene of which was principally in Pearl Street, near Chatham. This, also, was begun by a fight between two men—Irishmen—whose example, proving contagious, was imitated by others of their countrymen in such numbers that the affray shortly assumed the character of a serious riot. A number of citizens here interfered to keep the peace, but only with the

effect of increasing the uproar, and gaining for themselves sundry unpleasant visitations from fists, shillalabs, stones, and brickbats. Finally, the Mayor, accompanied by a large force of the police, appeared on the spot, and, having arrested the principal ringleaders, dispersed the rioters for the time being. In this affray, Dr. William McCaffrey, a highly-respected physician, who was passing at the time, on his way to visit a patient, was hit by a brick, and his jaw broken. He was then thrown down and his ribs broken; and, although he was rescued, he shortly afterward expired. By this time the turbulent element had extended into different parts of the city. On the next day, Monday, the riots were renewed by mobs of Irish and Americans. A public-house, known as the "Green Dragon," in the Bowery, near Broome Street, was attacked, the doors and windows broken in, and the house itself completely "gutted." The Mayor and police again came to the rescue; but the mob were not dispersed until several prominent citizens (among them Justice Lowndes) had been dangerously wounded, and a great amount of blood had been shed. The next day witnessed nearly the same scenes; and it was not until a notice had been publicly displayed to the effect that "the proprietors of the 'Bleecker-street House' desire to state that there will be no meeting of the 'O'Connell Guards,' as advertised in the Sunday dailies," that peace was permanently restored.

In this same year, the *Don-jon*, or OLD DEBTORS' PRISON, was changed into the present HALL OF RECORDS. A stranger in New York, and even many of its younger citizens, would hardly suppose, from the present appearance of the handsome Ionic temple standing directly east of the City Hall, for what "base uses" that classic edifice was originally built, or for what ignoble purposes it was kept, until the present year. Although it may now be justly consid-

ered one of the most correct and pleasing specimens of architecture in the Union, yet; until the transformation of its outward form and proportions, it was one of the most unsightly of buildings. It was not, however, of republican origin—having been erected early in the reign of His Most Excellent Majesty King George the Third, as a place of confinement for such of his refractory subjects as either could not or would not pay their debts. Nor is it any great credit to his majesty's successors in the Government that it should not have been appropriated to some other use at a much earlier day. Long did the citizens of New York petition for its removal or destruction, but in vain—until, “in the course of human events,” the public service demanded an additional edifice as a depository for its records. A change from the Bœotian to the Ionic order, and its conversion to a more humane purpose, were then determined upon, not only for the public convenience, but from motives of economy. One of the patriotic members of the city government, distinguished for his enterprise and public spirit, undertook the work, and gave to the ancient walls of unhewn stone their existing “form and pressure”—at an amount, too, not much exceeding, probably, twice the cost of two new buildings of the same dimensions.

The Old Debtors' Prison underwent its metamorphosis during the latter days of the venerable “Poppy Lownds,” as the worthy old jailor was called, who, for a long succession of years, had presided over the internal police of the prison. He was a kind-hearted old gentleman; and, amidst all the storms and vicissitudes of party, was never removed from office during his life-time—for the good reason, probably, among others, that the venerable officer had grown so lusty in his place that it was impossible to remove him out of it without removing a portion of the prison walls also. Be that, however, as it may, almost any day “Poppy Lownds” might have been

seen sitting in his big oaken arm-chair, dozing in some pleasing reverie, like a Turk over his sherbet after dinner, or as "calm and quiet as a summer's morning." If a visitor chanced to call, he would take a long pipe from his mouth, with the most easy deliberation, while the whiffs from the aromatic Virginia weed curled upward in an



THE PROVOST, OR DEBTORS' PRISON.

azure cloud and mingled with the vapor which had preceded it. Still, "Poppy Lownds," as before stated, was a good soul, and many a debtor had cause long to remember the kindness with which he was treated while sojourning in the old *Don-jon*.*

* It is true that the change from a prison into the Hall of Records was contemplated as early as 1830; but the building was not made perfectly ready for occupation until the present year.

For a more detailed account of the Debtors' Prison see Appendix No. IX.

CHAPTER VIII.

IN 1835, New York was visited by the most terrible conflagration she had ever experienced—an event which was so disastrous to the mercantile as well as to the private interests of the city, that a full account of it 1835. must not be omitted. The late Mr. Gabriel P. Disosway, who was present on the occasion, kindly furnished me, a few months before his death, with the following account of the conflagration itself, and the losses entailed by it:

“The fearful night of December 16, 1835, will long be remembered for the most terrible conflagration that has ever visited the great city. I then resided in that pleasant Quaker neighborhood, Vandewater Street, and hearing an alarm of fire, hastened to the front door. I immediately discovered, from the direction of the flame and smoke, that the fire was ‘down-town,’ and not far off. Thousands of others besides myself dreaded such an alarm that night, as it was the coldest one we had had for thirty-six years. A gale of wind was also blowing. I put on an old warm overcoat and an old hat, for active service ‘on my own hook.’ Years afterward these articles, preserved as curiosities, bore marks of the heat, sparks, and exposure of that fearful time. Our own store, Disosway & Brothers, 180 Pearl Street, near Maiden Lane, although fire-proof, naturally became the first object of my attention. This was providentially located several blocks above the fire; and, accordingly, having lighted the gas, and leaving the clerks to watch, I hastened to the building that was on fire.

“This was the store of Comstock & Andrews, well-known fancy dry-goods jobbers, at the corner of Pearl and Merchant Streets, a narrow, new lane, a little below Wall Street. When I entered the building on the lower floor, the fire had commenced in the counting-room, having caught, as it was believed, from the stove-pipe. Those few of us present had time to remove a considerable quantity of light fancy silk articles. The goods, however, were of a very

inflammable nature, and a strong current of air sweeping through the adjoining lane, we were soon compelled to leave the balance of this large and valuable stock to destruction. Here, and in this manner, the great fire of 1835 originated.

"In a short time this tall and large brick store was enveloped in flames, which burst from the doors and windows on both streets. Over half an hour had elapsed before the first engine arrived, and attempted to throw a stream upon the opposite stores of Pearl Street, against which the gale was driving the rapidly increasing heat and embers. But so furious were both that the boldest firemen retreated for their lives and the safety of their machine. The street at this point is very narrow, and prevented any man from reaching the lower or adjacent part of Pearl from this end. A burning wall of fire now intervened, and increased every moment. The way to the alarming scene was through William and Water Streets, and Old Slip. After a little while, that which was universally dreaded happened—the water in the hydrants froze, and prevented the engine from obtaining any further supply. Having drawn the 'machine' to a safe place, the firemen nobly went to work saving property. It was all they possibly could do. The reader must remember that the thermometer had now fallen below zero, which, added to a biting, fierce winter wind, paralyzed the exertions of both firemen and citizens. All ordinary means for stopping the rapidly increasing flames were abandoned, and the efforts of all were directed to the removal of the contents of the buildings to places beyond the supposed reach of destruction. In this way immense quantities of goods were placed in the large Merchants' Exchange on Wall Street, in Old Slip, Hanover Square, and the Garden-street Dutch Church and its adjoining grave-yard. In a few hours, however, the devouring element, reaching these areas and splendid edifices, swept everything away as with the 'besom of destruction.' Millions of dollars were consumed in a very short time.

"I am writing my own reminiscences of that awful night, and not the experiences of another, and must be excused if I often use the personal pronoun. By midnight it was evident that no earthly power could stay the *then* Etna-like rapid progress of the raging torrent, which increased every moment most alarmingly, and spread in every direction, except toward the east. Most fortunately, it did not cross Wall, that street having become an impassable barrier, else the eastern and upper sections of the city might have shared the same fate as the lower. Who can tell where the calamity would have paused, for there were immense blocks of wooden buildings on Water and Cherry and Pearl Streets, 'up' town more than 'down,' and inflammable magazines which, once fired, could extend the common destruction over the city.

"My own course that night was to obtain voluntary aid, and, entering the stores of personal friends, remove, if possible, books and papers. Such was absolutely the heat in front of some stores on the south side of Pearl, near Wall Street, that, although they were not yet on fire, it was impossible to force an entrance that way, and we were obliged to effect it from Water Street, as those buildings extended through the block. A panel in the rear door was broken out, and, entering through this with lanterns, we reached the counting-room, and then, collecting the books and invoices, placed them in a hand-cart and sent them away. It is impossible to imagine the fervent heat created by

the increasing flames. Many of the stores were new, with iron shutters; doors, and copper roofs and gutters, 'fire-proof' of first class, and I carefully watched the beginning and the progress of their destruction. The heat alone, at times, melted the copper roofing, and the burning liquid ran off in great drops. At one store, near Arthur Tappan & Co.'s, I warned some firemen of their danger from this unexpected source. Along here the buildings were of the first class, and one after another ignited under the roof, from the next edifice; downward, from floor to floor, went the devouring element. As the different stories caught, the iron-closed shutters shone with glowing redness, until at last, forced open by the uncontrollable enemy within, they presented the appearance of immense iron furnaces in full blast. The tin and copper-bound roofs often seemed struggling to maintain their fast hold, gently rising and falling and moving, until, their rafters giving way, they mingled in the blazing crater below of goods, beams, floors, and walls.

"On the north side of Hanover Square stood the fine store-house of Peter Remsen & Company, one of the largest East India firms, with a valuable stock. Here we assisted, and many light bales of goods were thrown from the upper windows, together with a large amount of other merchandise, all heaped in the midst of the square, then thought to be a perfectly secure place. Vain calculation! Both sides of Pearl Street were soon in the furious blaze, and the ground became covered with living cinders. This whole pile dissolved and mingled in the common and increasing ruin. Water Street, too, was on fire, and we hastened to the old firm of S. B. Harper & Sons, grocers, on Front, opposite Gouverneur Lane, where there appeared to be no immediate danger.

"The father and sons had arrived, and we succeeded in removing their valuables. As we left the store after the last load, a terrible explosion occurred near by with the noise of a cannon. The earth shook. We ran for safety, not knowing what might follow, and took refuge on the corner of Gouverneur Lane, nearly opposite. Waiting for a few minutes, a second explosion took place, then another and another. During the space, perhaps, of half an hour, shock after shock followed in rapid succession, accompanied with the darkest, thickest clouds of smoke imaginable. The explosions came from a store on Front Street, near Old Slip, where large quantities of saltpeter in bags had been stored. Suddenly the whole ignited, and out leaped the flaming streams of these neutral salts in their own peculiar colors, from every door and window. Some might have called them fire-works. We have never forgotten this saltpeter eruption, or explosion, and never doubted since the explosive character of the article.

"About midnight, the onward march of the uncontrolled, riotous flames had reached the East River, and could go no further beyond that impassable barrier. Before this, the crowded shipping had fortunately sufficient time to be removed from the docks and slips. One of the most grand and frightful scenes of the whole night was the burning of a large oil-store at the corner of Old Slip and South Street. It was four or more stories high, and filled with windows on both sides without any shutters. This was before the days of petroleum and kerosene, and the building was full of sperm and other oils. These fired hog-head after hog-head, and over the spacious edifice resembled a vast bonfire or giant beacon, casting its bright beams far and wide on the river and surrounding region; but finally the confined inflammable mass, from eaves to cellar, shot

out with tremendous force through every window and opening, and soon all disappeared except the cracked, tottering, and falling walls.

"The blazing, flying timbers were carried across the East River, and, in one instance, set fire to the roof of a house in Brooklyn, which, however, was quickly extinguished. Large quantities of tar and turpentine on the wharves becoming ignited, ran down blazing into the stream, and, floating off, made a sort of burning sea, many square yards in extent. The conflagration, increasing every moment, also extended inward toward Broadway. Great hopes were indulged that the Merchants' (marble) Exchange (in which, since 1827, the Post-office had been located) would escape. In the vast rotunda of the edifice stood a most beautiful white marble statue of Alexander Hamilton. Accordingly, a great anxiety was manifested to save this image of the great statesman. It was a masterpiece of art, and hundreds of willing hands, including those of a large number of sailors, undertook its removal, but to no purpose; and the finely chiseled marble, with the solid granite of the Exchange, before long mingled together in common ruin. The letters of the Post-office were alone saved.

"There was evidently now no salvation for those fine new stores on William Street, near by, and in Exchange Place, where the auctioneers and other commission houses had located. I sought the premises of Burns, Halliburton & Company, one of the most popular firms of that day. They were the agents of the Merrimac and other works, and had an immense valuable stock of calicoes, muslin, and flannels. Their large store extended from William Street to the grave-yard of the Garden-street Church. Most of the stock was easily removed to this place of imagined security, which, indeed, became the depot, for the time being, for millions of merchandise. We soon cleared this store. The firm were agents also for extra flannels. These, packed in small bales, and light, were readily cast from the upper stories into the grave-yard. In one of the upper lofts I met a member of the firm, Mr. B., one of Nature's noblemen, since dead, with his other partners, and he was weeping. 'Too hard,' said he, 'after all the toil of years, to see property thus suddenly destroyed!' 'Cheer up,' we replied, 'the world is still wide enough for success and fortune;' and so it proved, to him and many other sufferers.

"This row of fine new stores had very flat roofs, and, imagining that a good view of the whole conflagration could be obtained from the top, we soon found our way there. Some friends in the yard, fearing that we had been locked up and in danger, screamed like wild Indians, pointing out a way of escape. But there was no danger; and what a sight now presented itself! From Maiden Lane to Coenties Slip, and from William Street to the East River, the whole immense area, embracing some thirteen acres, all in a raging, uncontrollable blaze! To what can we compare it? An ocean of fire, as it were, with roaring, rolling, burning waves, surging onward and upward, and spreading certain universal destruction; tottering walls and falling chimneys, with black smoke, hissing, crashing sounds on every side. Something like this, for we cannot describe it, was the fearful prospect, and, soon satisfied with the alarming, fearful view, we retreated from our high look-out. The light had spread more and more vividly from the fiery arena, rendering every object, far and wide, minutely discernible—the lower bay and its islands, with the shores of Long Island and New Jersey. Even from Staten Island the conflagration was very plainly seen. A sea on fire is, perhaps, the best similitude I can fancy to describe this grand and awful midnight winter scene.

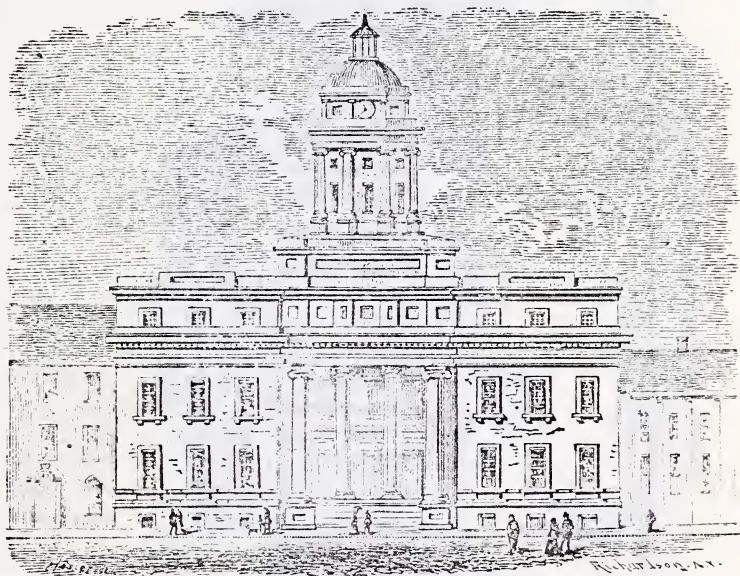
"Not long after we left our high stand-point it was enveloped in the universal blaze, and soon the Garden-street Church, with its spire, organ, and heaps of goods stored within and outside, was consumed. There, too, was lost the venerable bell which had been removed at an early period in New York history from the old St. Nicholas Church within the present Battery. 'What more can be done to stop the progress of the flames?' became the anxious and general inquiry. Mr. Cornelius W. Lawrence, the Mayor, appeared with his officers, and, after consultation, it was determined to 'blow up' some buildings, and the east corner of Coenties Slip and Coenties Lane (a narrow street) was selected as the proper place to begin the necessary work. On the opposite side was the store of William Van Antwerp & Co., hardware-dealers, and relatives of the writer, who, engaged at this point in saving goods, could see the necessary preparations for the blast. The building to be 'blown up,' I think, was occupied by Wyncoop & Co., grocers. It was large, and of brick. Colonel Smith soon arrived with the powder and a gang of officers and sailors from the Navy Yard; and none else were permitted to interfere. They commenced mining in the cellar, and placing heavy timbers upon the powder-kegs and against beams of the floors, everything was soon ready for the explosion. A friend near by said to an old tar, 'Be careful or you will be blown up!' 'Blow and be ——' was the careless and characteristic reply to the warning. But all having been admirably and safely arranged, the crowd retreated. The torch was applied, and in an instant the report followed; then the immense mass heaved up as if by magic, and losing its fastenings, from the cellar to the roof, tottered, shook, and fell. A shout went up from the gazing spectators; and at this point the common danger was evidently arrested, thanks to Colonel Swift, Lieutenant Reynolds, and Captain Mix, of the navy, and their noble, brave sailors. Heroism can be as much displayed at a terrible catastrophe of this kind as on the bloody field of battle, and it was to-night. This party of miners arrived about two o'clock in the morning, when their important work commenced. They continued it successfully in another direction; indeed, it was believed that the conflagration was at last checked by this blowing-up of the buildings.

"Wearied, with watching, labor, and anxiety, thousands wished for the return of day, and at length a dim increasing light in the east, but enshrouded with dull, heavy clouds of smoke, foretold the coming morning. And what an unexpected melancholy spectacle to thousands did New York present! The generous firemen from Philadelphia soon after made their appearance; but the fire had been checked. The immense remains continued to blaze and burn for many days. We could now travel around the bounds of the night's destruction, but no living being could venture through them. In many places there were no lines of the streets to be discovered at all, as every foot of ground was covered with the heated bricks, timbers, and rubbish of the destroyed buildings.

"Many a merchant living in the upper section of the city went quietly to bed that night, and, strange as it may seem, when he came down-town the next morning, literally could not find his store, nor enough of his stock remaining to cover his hand—every yard, ell, pound, gone! There were official statements of several stores, in each of which a quarter of a million of dollars in goods was consumed, with books, notes, and accounts. New York the next day sat, as it were, in sackcloth and ashes, and real sorrow began to appear on

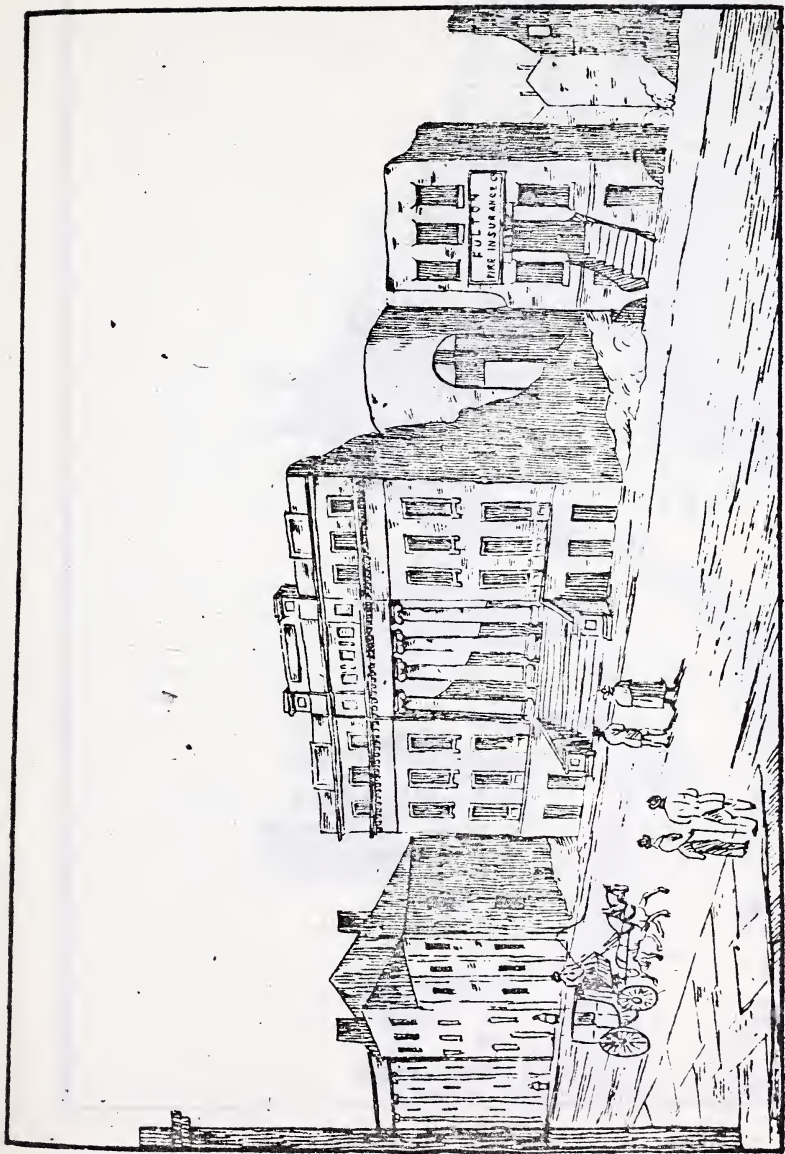
men's faces as the losses and ruin were discovered by the light of day. To increase, also, the public calamity, the insurance companies, except the *Etna*, of Hartford, and the Chatham, had all become bankrupt from their severe losses, and could not pay. Universal gloom prevailed, but not despondency.

"There was great anxiety expressed for the preservation of the Merchants' Exchange on Wall Street, and a large crowd assembled in front to watch the noble edifice, now in imminent danger.

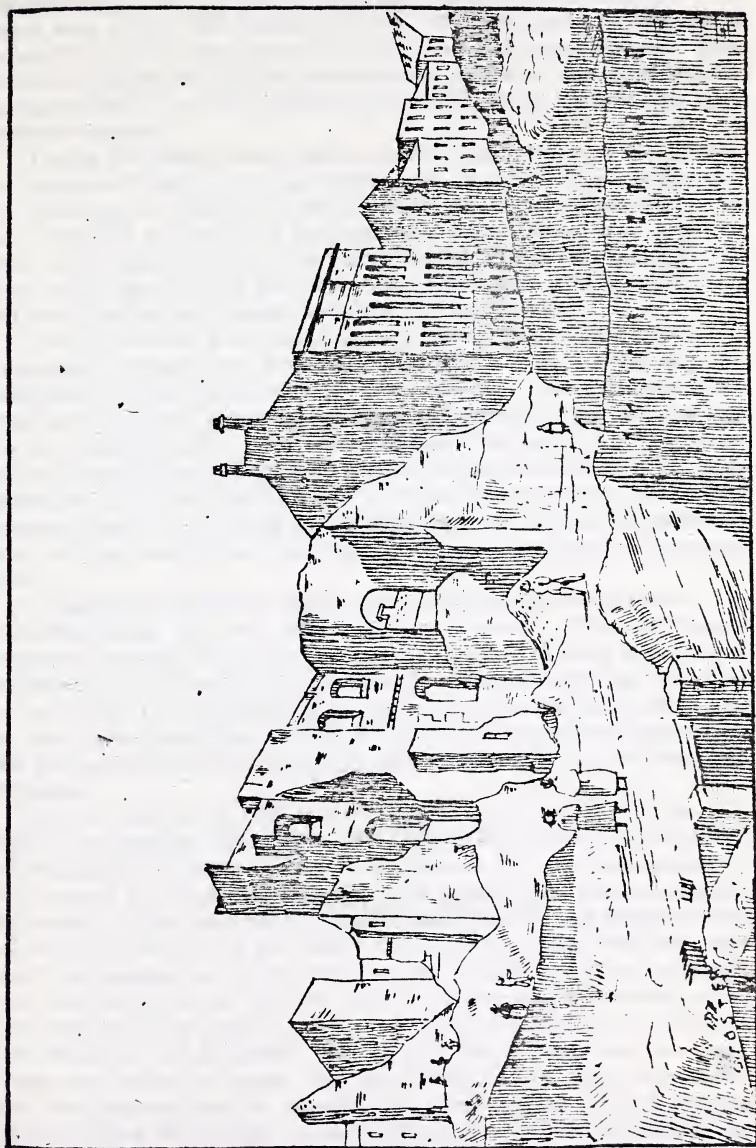


MERCHANTS' EXCHANGE BEFORE THE FIRE.

"We have stated that the letters of the Post-office, then in its basement, were saved, and the marble statue of HAMILTON, placed beneath the rotunda, was lost. But now the fire-fiend had reached the solid structure, and all hopes of saving it were abandoned. The public gaze evidently centered most upon its cupola. Higher and higher the flames reached, and after a brief conflict the roof fell. A short silence ensued in the almost breathless crowd, but what a strange thing is ever a mob? Next went up—shall we call it a fiendish shout, as a friend standing by did at the time? Then came another pause, the lofty shooting fires lighting up the faces of surrounding crowds. At this moment a



View of the EXCHANGE (in the Front.)



EXCHANGE *(in the Rear)*

man was seen hurrying along, crying out at the top of his voice, 'Is there a surgeon among you, gentlemen? for God's sake, is there a surgeon?' The report soon spread that hundreds were in the Exchange at the moment its cupola fell, and those dragged out of the ruins needed a surgeon's care. Providentially, this was not the case, and that which was still more wonderful and striking, no fatal or serious accident occurred during the whole of this awful December calamity.

"During the conflagration, then under full headway toward Broad Street, the presence of mind of one man saved much property. This was Downing, the oyster king, of Broad-street fame. Water was out of the question, and at this emergency he thought of his supplies of vinegar, which were large, and with careful application by pailful after pailful, a large amount of property was saved in that direction from the general destruction. To his good sense, and credit, and worthy memory, we record this generous act.

"I forgot to mention one circumstance connected with the destruction of the Garden-street Church, and have been reminded of it by a friend who was among the very last persons to leave the sacred edifice. Many, many a solemn dirge had been played upon that fine organ at the burial of the dead, and now, the holy temple on fire, some one commenced performing upon it its own funeral dirge, and continued it until the lofty ceiling was in a blaze. The music ceased, and in a short time the beautiful edifice, with its noble instrument and immense quantities of goods stored inside and out, were all irrecoverably gone, nothing escaping save the long-sleeping dust and bones of the buried dead.

"I forgot also to mention in their proper place some items about the old 'Tontine Coffee house.' This was the 'Exchange' of the city. The old folks may remember its rough but pleasant keeper, old Buyden. We only have heard of his fame, and it is related of him that, when the first anthracite coal was offered for sale in New York, he tried it in the hall of the Tontine; but he pronounced the new article worse than nothing, for he had put one scuttle into the grate, and then another, and after they were consumed he took up two scuttlefuls of stones.

"In the great fire of 1835, this well-known public edifice came very near sharing the common destruction. The engines had almost entirely ceased working, and the Tontine was discovered to be on fire in its broad cornices, at the corner of Wall and Water Streets. This created still greater alarm, for the burning of this large building would destroy the hopes of saving the eastern section of the city, if not more. Two solitary engines, with what little water they managed to obtain, were throwing their feeble and useless streams upon the flaming stores opposite, when Mr. Oliver Hull, of our city, calling their attention to the burning cornice, generously promised to donate one hundred dollars to the Firemen's Fund 'if they would extinguish that blaze.' Seeing the threatening danger, they immediately made a pile of boxes which had been removed from the adjacent stores, from the top of which, by great efforts, a stream reached the spot and quickly put out the alarming flame. Mr. Hull is still living, and, thanks to him for his wise counsel and generosity at that trying moment, and gratitude to the noble firemen who so successfully averted the awful progress of the destroying element from crossing Wall Street and ending, who can tell where? They were frequently told of the

vital importance of preventing the conflagration extending beyond this limit, and labored accordingly, and with the happiest results.

"As already stated, no lives were lost during the conflagration; still, we remember that, shortly afterward, one of our most widely-known and respected fellow-citizens passed away in death. This was John Laing, often called 'Honest John Laing,' the senior partner of Laing, Turner & Co., of the old *New York Gazette and General Advertiser*; and his last illness—of paralysis or apoplexy—was hastened by the excitement and devastation of this great public calamity. He was a gentleman of the old-school *queue-hair* style.

"In the estimated thirteen acres of the burnt district, only one store escaped entire. This was occupied by the well-known John A. Moore of this day, in the iron trade on Water Street, near old Slip. Watched inside, and fire-proof, in their wildest career, the rapid flames seemed, as it were, to overleap the building, destroying all others. There it stood, solitary and alone, amidst surrounding entire destruction, as a sad monument stands alone amid the general ruin.

"As many as three or four buildings were blown up to stop the progress of the fire, all other efforts having failed; and if such a measure had been resorted to earlier, great destruction of property might possibly have been prevented. There was also a want of powder, although, unknown to the citizens, a vessel loaded with the article lay anchored in the stream. At last, Mr. Charles King generously volunteered to visit the Navy Yard for a supply, and returned with a band of marines and sailors. The explosions went on fearfully and successfully. Up and down went the mined structures, two barrels of powder under each, until no flames were left, no means of spreading the fiery element to the next houses.

"The extent of the fire in December, 1835, may be imagined from its several limits. These, commencing at Coffee-house Slip, extended along South Street to Coenties Slip, thence to near Broad, along William to Wall, and down that street to the East River on the south side, with the exception of Nos. 51, 53, 55, 57, 59, and 61, along where the new splendid banking-house of Brown Brothers & Company now stands. This burnt district embraced some thirteen acres, in which nearly seven hundred houses were leveled to the ground in a single winter's night, with a loss of seventeen million dollars; *four* millions, it was calculated, was the value of the buildings, and *thirteen*, of the goods. During a few hours this vast amount disappeared, either in the flaming atmosphere or in ashes upon the earth—the most costly goods and products from every portion of our globe. Some merchants, retiring to bed wealthy in the evening, and perhaps so dreaming, found themselves the next morning either ruined or their estates seriously injured. In the impressive language of Scripture, their riches had taken wings and flown away in a single night—warehouse, stock, notes, and books, all gone beyond recovery.

"After the general consternation had somewhat subsided, a public meeting assembled in Mr. Lawrence's office (the Mayor's), City Hall, to consider what should be done under the circumstances. At this meeting, committees were appointed to provide means for the relief of the most necessitous cases, and to ascertain the condition of the insurance companies, and the amount of the losses as far as practicable. The writer acted as secretary of this last committee, and the losses absolutely stated from various firms and parties amounted to *seven*

teen millions of dollars. In many cases they were total. Some would not name their damages, and among them very large houses; and, although the seventeen millions were reported by the losers, still, the committee estimated the real loss at twenty millions of dollars. To increase the difficulties, all the insurance companies, except the two mentioned in a former article, failed to meet the demands against them, but paid as much as they were able, and this consumed all their assets, leaving them bankrupt. This result caused great distress among a class who had been otherwise unharmed—old people, widows, orphans, and others, whose income came from fire-insurance *dividends*; these were now at an end, and many suffered severely in consequence. Among the first acts of the public committee was to relieve this class.

"In respect to the entire loss, some accounts place the number of buildings at five hundred and twenty-eight; others, higher. Let us visit the 'burnt district,' as it was then named, commencing at the eastern limits. Coffee-house Slip, and South, Front, and Water Streets, were burned down from Wall Street to Coenties Slip, Pearl consumed from the same point to Coenties Alley, and there, as we have seen, stopped by the blowing-up of a building. This was the well-known crowded region of the dry-goods importers and jobbers, merchant princes in the granite palaces, filled with the richest merchandise, domestic and imported. The destruction on Stone Street extended down from William to then No. 33, one side, and to No. 39 on the other. Beaver was destroyed half-way to Broad. Exchange Place was burned from Hanover Street to within three doors of Broad, and here, also, the flames were arrested by blowing up a house. The loss on William Street was complete, commencing at Wall and ending in South, and on both sides, including the market in Old Slip. Wall Street was devastated on the south side, from William to South, excepting, as we have noticed, Nos. 51, 53, 55, 57, 59, and 61. The greatest efforts were made along here to prevent the flames reaching the banks and offices on the opposite side. Here was located the *Courier and Enquirer* office; and we well remember the noble person of its editor, Colonel Webb, as he stood on a prominent, elevated place, exhorting the people to renewed diligence and efforts to save the city. All the intermediate streets, lanes, and alleys within these limits were also swept away by the destroying element. The following statement will be found, we imagine, nearly accurate, of the houses and stores leveled to the earth:

On Wall Street.....	26	On Old Slip.....	33
On South Street.....	76	On Stone Street.....	40
On Front Street.....	80	On Mill Street.....	33
On Water Street.....	76	On Beaver Street.....	23
On Pearl Street.....	79	On Hanover Street.....	16
On Exchange Place.....	62	On Coenties Slip.....	16
On Gouverneur's Lane.....	20	On Hanover Square.....	3
On Jones's Lane.....	10	On Cuyler's Alley.....	20
On Exchange.....	31		—
On William Street.....	44	Total.....	674

'Six hundred and seventy-four tenements were thus consumed in a few short hours, and the far greater part were occupied by New York's largest shipping and wholesale dry-goods merchants, besides many grocers.

"This was a terrible day for the commercial emporium of our land. The destruction had been fearful, and so were the consequences. In a few months

the United States banks suspended payment; then followed the commercial distress of 1837, and for a time business seemed paralyzed. Next came bankruptcy after bankruptcy in quick succession, and soon the banks of our State stopped payment for one year. The Legislature legalized this necessary public act. What a disastrous moment! what terrible reverses! what gloomy forebodings and prospects! But the most wonderful fact of all these fearful times was the energy and elasticity of the New-Yorkers. Not long depressed by their misfortunes, a reaction took place, and before many months the city literally arose from her ashes, and acres of splendid granite, marble, brown-stone, and brick stores filled the entire 'burnt district.' Business, trade, and commerce revived more briskly than ever before. How truly astonishing, and how noble and praiseworthy! What shall we call our native city—the Giant of the Western World, the Queen of America, the Commercial Emporium, or by what other name? Her wharves and streets are now visited by men from every region of the world, and her white canvas gladdens every ocean. In vain do we search for a chapter in ancient or modern history of such a conflagration and its losses, and of rapid recovery from all its evils, with increasing prosperity, as we find in the great fire of New York in December, 1835. Well may New-Yorkers be proud of their noble city, her enterprise, her trade, and her 'merchant princes.'"

The great extent of the "burnt district," and the immense amount of valuable goods and property of various kinds which remained among the ruins, exposed to depredations, required the exercise of energies beyond the ordinary civil powers; and, such an organization as the present "Insurance Patrol" being at that time unknown, the Mayor accepted the services of the "National Guard"* for guard duty in the emergency. "A line of sentinels was accordingly formed from the foot of Wall Street, up Wall, and to the foot of Broad Street, outside of the limits of the devastated district, rendering entire protection to the exposed property during the night of their service. The narrator recollects well *his* two 'turns' on post during the night, at the corner of the ruins of the old Merchants' Exchange, at Hanover Street, in an exceedingly cold and driving storm of sleet and rain, and the gloomy and dreadful appearance of the smoldering ruins extended over a space of upward of fifty acres, broken here and there by a fitful flame from a half-smothered fire. He recollects as well, too, the relief of *toasting his toes*, in

* This name was, in 1847, changed into the "Seventh Regiment."

the 'off' intervals, at the glowing fire, and refreshing the inner man with the genial hospitality of the noted 'Auction Hotel' of George W. Brown, in Water Street, which was the head-quarters of one wing of the regiment for the occasion."*

As soon as the first excitement had subsided, a public meeting of the citizens of New York convened, in pursuance of a call from the Mayor, at the City Hall, on Saturday, the 19th of December, at noon.. The meeting was called to order by Judge Irving, upon whose motion the Mayor took the chair.

The following gentlemen were then appointed vice-presidents on the motion of General Prosper M. Wetmore: Albert Gallatin, Preserved Fish, Louis McLane, George Newbould, Isaac Bronson, Enos T. Throop, Campbell P. White, John T. Irving, Samuel Hicks, George Griswold, James G. King, Benjamin L. Swan, Jacob Lorillard, and Stephen Allen. On motion of General Jacob Morton, the following secretaries were also appointed: Jonathan Goodhue, Prosper M. Wetmore, John S. Crary, John A. Stephens, Jacob Harvey, Reuben Withers, Dudley Selden, Samuel B. Ruggles, George Wilson, Samuel Cowdrey, James Lee, and John L. Graham. The meeting was addressed by William L. Stone, Prosper M. Wetmore, and several other prominent citizens, after which the following resolutions were, on motion of James G. King, unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That while the citizens of New York lament over the ruin which has left desolate the most valuable part of this city, and deeply sympathize with the numerous sufferers, it becomes them not to repine, but to unite

* Asher Taylor, in his *Recollections of the Seventh Regiment*. Chief-Justice Dal , also, was one of the guard on this occasion. The head-quarters of his regiment was at the Shakespeare Tavern, where, during the night, they were all regaled with bread and cheese. The Judge had a tussle, on his beat, with a negro who was carrying off a case of silks, in which the former came off the victor.

in a vigorous exertion to repair the loss; that the extent of her commerce, the number, wealth, and enterprise of her citizens, justify, under the blessing of Divine Providence, a primary reliance upon her own resources.

"*Resolved*, That we consider it the duty of our citizens and moneyed institutions, who stand in the relation of creditors to those who have directly or indirectly suffered by the late fire, to extend to them the utmost forbearance and lenity."

On motion of Dudley Selden, Esq., it was further

"*Resolved*, That a committee of the Mayor and one hundred and fifty citizens be appointed to ascertain the extent and probable value of the property destroyed, and how far the sufferers are protected by insurance. Also, with power to make application to Congress for relief by an extension of credit for debts due the United States, and a return or remission of duties on goods destroyed; and also to ask such other aid from the general, State, and city governments as may be deemed expedient. Also to ascertain the origin and cause of the fire, and what change, if any, should be made, either in the regulating of streets, the erection of buildings, or the arrangements of the Fire Department, to prevent a recurrence of similar calamities, and take such other measures as the emergency may demand.

"*Resolved*, That the Committee to be appointed take the earliest and most effectual measures to ascertain and relieve the necessities of those who have been reduced to want by the recent unfortunate event."

On motion of Colonel Murray, it was also

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of this meeting be, and they are hereby, tendered to the citizens of Philadelphia, Brooklyn, and Newark for the spontaneous expression of their sympathy in our misfortunes, and that they be especially tendered to the firemen of those cities, who, with a promptitude and kindness unexampled, have left their homes at this inclement season to offer their services, and which they are now tendering at the scene of the calamity."

On motion of Prosper M. Wetmore, it was finally

"*Resolved*, That the members of the two boards of the Common Council be *ex officio* members of the committee to be appointed."

The Committee was then announced as follows:*

Cornelius W. Lawrence Albert Gallatin, Preserved Fish, Samuel Hicks, Benjamin L. Swan, Dudley Selden, Jonathan Goodhue, Saul Alley, *Prosper M. Wetmore*, John T. Irving, John Pintard, George Newbould, *Samuel B. Ruggles*, James G. King, *Wm. B. Astor*, George Griswold, *Enos T. Troop*, Samuel Cowdrey, Thomas J. Oakley, George Wilson, *Wm. T. McCown*, John G. Coster,

*The reader will not fail to remark that this committee was composed of men whose names are household words in the history of our city, and are identified with its interests and prosperity. Hence the propriety of giving them in full in the *text*. The names in *italics* represent those who are living at the present time (1872).

Walter Bowne, James F. Boorman, Louis McLane, Jacob Lorillard, John S. Crary, Jacob Harvey, Reuben Withers, Ogden Hoffman, Charles King, *Edward Sanford*, John W. Leavitt, Adam Treadwell, John Leonard, George S. Robbins, Wm. Neilson, Stephen Whitney, Joseph Bouchaud, Jacob Morton, John Wilson, Mordecai M. Noah, Philip Hone, William L. Stone, Rensselaer Havens, *Charles W. Sanford*, *Wm. Van Wyck*, D. F. Manice, John Kelly, H. C. De Rham, Isaac Bronson, Campbell B. White, John A. Stevens, *James Lee*, George Douglass, Stephen Allen, John Fleming, John B. Lawrence, Wm. B. Townsend, *Charles H. Russell*, James Heard, Charles Graham, George Ireland, John Y. Cebra, Samuel Jones, Charles Augustus Davis, *Robert C. Wetmore*, James D. P. Ogden, *Andrew Warner*, David Hall, James Conner, Robert White, Richard Pownell, Joseph Blunt, Samuel Ward, F. B. Cutting, John H. Howland, John Lang, Daniel Jackson, J. Palmer, Richard Riker, *James Roosevelt, Jr.*, James Monroe, Richard McCarthy, Isaac S. Hone, Peter A. Jay, Amos Butler, Joseph D. Beers, David Bryson, Samuel Swartwout, Walter R. Jones, Philo L. Mills, Morris Robinson, Benjamin McVickar, John Haggerty, Charles Denison, George W. Lee, Wm. Churchill, George Lovett, G. A. Worth, Edwin Lord, B. L. Woolley, *Wm. Mitchell*, *Bury Wakeman*, Wm. Leggett, James B. Murray, Peter A. Cowdrey, John L. Graham, George D. Strong, Jonathan Lawrence, Cornelius Heyer, *James Lawson*, Samuel S. Howland, *James Watson Webb*, Wm. M. Price, John Delafield, James McCride, M. M. Quackenboss, B. M. Brown, Wm. B. Crosby, G. C. Verplanck, *Wm. Beach Lawrence*, Joseph L. Josephs, S. H. Foster, *T. T. Kissam*, Robert Bogardus, Wm. Howard, Luman Reed, Robert Smith, *M. Ulshoeffer*, Samuel Thompson, Robert C. Cornell, P. G. Stuyvesant, David Hadden, Benjamin Strong, Wm. P. Hall, Isaac Townsend, *Charles P. Clinch*, Rufus L. Lord, J. R. Satterlee, David S. Jones, David Austin, Seth Geer, Robert Lenox, Perez Jones, Wm. Turner.

Scarcely had this committee been appointed when a communication was received from the President of the Board of Trade, announcing the names of a committee from that body to co-operate in the objects of the meeting.

On motion of Mr. P. M. Wetmore, it was accordingly

Resolved, That the following gentlemen, deputed from the Board of Trade, be added to the committee, viz., Gabriel P. Disosway, Robert Jaffrey, Silas Brown, N. H. Weed, George Underhill, D. A. Cushman, Meigs D. Benjamin, Marcus Wilbur, and *Thomas Denny*.

Thereupon the committee, "having been requested to meet at seven o'clock in the evening at the Mayor's office, adjourned." Terrible, however, as was this calamity, New York city was by no means crushed by the blow. "Great as the loss has been," said a writer,* a few days after the

* Foster's | account of the | conflagration | of the principal portion of the

fire, "we are happy to announce to our friends at a distance, that our merchants and others who have suffered are in good spirits, and fully determined promptly to redeem their loss. All despondency, if it ever existed, is at an end. Smiling faces and cheerful countenances meet us at every corner, and demonstrate that there is an elasticity in the character of our people which always enables them to rise above the most overwhelming evils. The same spirit which made New York what it is, will enable it quietly to bear and nobly to triumph over even the present calamity. Indeed, such is the tone of the public mind, that we expect to see business as brisk as ever in the spring; and within two years the entire district destroyed will be rebuilt on a more permanent and convenient plan"—a prophecy which was more than fulfilled; since, in 1836, according to an assessment made November 12th, of that year, the value of the real and personal estate in New York city was \$327,988,780, of which the proportion of real estate was \$253,201,191, and of personal \$74,787,589. This was an increase of \$20,183,824 over the assessments of 1832-'33.*

In the month of February, 1836, the peace of the lower part of the city was endangered by a "strike" among the stevedores and other "long-shore" workmen.

1836.

After parading the streets and along the docks for several days, their demonstrations became so violent that the civil authorities were roused to vigorous action. The Mayor called upon the Twenty-seventh regiment, which, with ball-cartridges and a bountiful supply of ammuni-

first | ward of the city of New York | on the night of the 16th of December, 1835." The two cuts given in the text, representing the ruins of the Merchants' Exchange, are from this pamphlet.

* *Niles' Register*, Nov. 20th, 1836. Compare the above assessment with the fact that the taxable property of New York Island in 1871, reported at less than half its value, reaches nearly a *thousand millions*, and the annual tax twenty-five millions.

tion, promptly turned out on the morning of the 24th of February, and took up its quarters in the court-rooms of the City Hall. This fact coming to the knowledge of the rioters, order was restored, and the regiment was dismissed in the evening.

This same year witnessed, also, the destruction of the "OLD SHAKESPEARE TAVERN," the ancient stamping-ground of the "National Guards," and for many years intimately associated with the military history of the city. It stood at the south-west corner of Fulton and Nassau Streets (the site [1872] of the present *Commercial Advertiser* building). It was originally a low, old-fashioned, massive edifice, built of small, yellow bricks, two stories high, with dormer-windows on the roof. The entrance, in its early days, was through a green baize door on Nassau Street—an entry running through the building, with rooms on both sides. "The Tap" was in the south front room, on Nassau Street, and was fitted up in one corner with a circular bar of the old English fashion. The building was erected many years before the Revolution, by John Leake, a commissary in the French war,* but, in 1822, a modern extension on Fulton Street, three stories high, was added.

On the second story there was a room for public meetings and military drills, and on the third story there was also another room, arched, for concerts and balls, and for the accommodation of the political, literary, and musical patrons of the house. It was kept in its palmyest days by Thomas Hodgkinson, an Englishman by birth, who had come over to the United States when quite young.† He

* This Leake is said to have saved the life of the Duke of Cumberland at the Battle of Dettingen. He was also at the siege of Louisburg, under Sir William Pepperell.

† Hodgkinson was an officer of the Second regiment of N. Y. S. Artillery,

was a brother of the celebrated comedian and vocalist, John Hodgkinson, who was at one time manager of the old Park Theater. Hodgkinson bought the house in 1808, and under his management it soon became and long continued a great resort for the wits of the day, and was celebrated for the superiority of its wines and the quiet comfort and elegance of its private suppers.

The "Shakespeare Tavern," in fact, was to New York what the "Mermaid" was to London in the days of Shakespeare and Queen Bess, or, later, the "St. James Coffee-house" and the "Turk's Head" in the time of Reynolds, Garrick, and Goldsmith. Within its walls, Hugh Gaine and James Cheetham have broken many a lance over the political topics of the day. In its tap-room "Ready-Money Provost" has been seen quietly sipping a mug of foaming flip as he meditated over some fresh scheme for cheating the revenue.* Here, De Witt Clinton was wont to discuss his

and distinguished for his devotion to the cause of his adopted country in 1812. At his death, which occurred on the day of the reception of General Lafayette, in 1824, he was a captain, and was buried with military honors. Two of his sons served in the "National Guard."—*Recollections of the Seventh Regiment*, for the use of two copies of which book (now exceedingly rare) the author is indebted to the courtesy of Herman G. Carter, Esq., and to the publishing house of J. M. Bradstreet & Son.

* "READY-MONEY PROVOST," or David Provost—a man long known as the chief of a gang of smugglers who infested Long Island Sound—acquired his compound appellation in consequence of the abundance of money which he always had by him, even in times of the greatest scarcity. One of his strongholds for secreting his contraband articles was at Hallett's Cove, L. I. He was for many years such a character, that I here give a conversation said to have been held between him and a gentleman, as illustrative both of the man and of the ideas held by his class upon smuggling:

"I have not the honor of an acquaintance with you, Mr Provost; but I have heard much of you and your occupation."

"No reflections, if you please, Mr. Talcott: my occupation is an affair of my own: 'Free Trade' 's my maxim: we fowt with Great Britain for liberty, and agin the tea-tax and the custom-houses. I got a bullet in my leg, and like to have had a baggonet in my bread-basket at the battle of Brooklyn, over there where the Jarsey Blues was shot. I was agin the custom-houses then, and I'm agin them now. Well: we whipped the English, and the Hessians to boot, and got our liberties, they tell us. But blast my picture, if we aint more pes-

pet project, the Erie Canal; here, Fitz-Greene Halleck, and Sands, and Percival,* and Paulding, and Willis Gay-

tered and plagued with custom-houses now than we was then—and be hanged to 'em!"

"I meant no reflections, Mr. Provost," replied Mr. Talcott; "but as you said you supposed you were a stranger to me, I only intended to say that you had been pointed out to me as a smug—I beg pardon—as a—"

"Ay, smuggler—say it out! They turn up their noses, and call me smuggler, who have never cheated a man in my life; while they fail for their thousands, and ride in their coaches all the while besides! Many a time have I lent the scoundrels the hard chink—the real Caroluses—to keep them out of limbo; when, before they had turned the next corner, they would call me smuggler!—just because I'm for making an honest living by FREE TRADE. There's Congress has just been introducing a Tariff, as they call it, and Madison, and Carroll, and old Roger Sherman, and all on 'em are voting for it. But by the"—and here, with flashing eyes, the smuggler swore a great oath which we will not repeat—"Ready-Money Provost" will stand by his 'reserved rights,' as they call them away there in Virginny, and nullify the custom-house laws, as long as the 'Pot' boils in Hellgate!"

"Never mind," replied Talcott, in a conciliating tone; "we will waive that subject. I am no merchant, and know little of the mysteries of trade or of smuggling. And if—"

"Smuggling, again! I tell you, Mr. Talcott, you must not make my Jarsey blood boil too hot. I'm an honest man, that pays his debts, and ruins no friend who has the kindness to underwrite for me. I am only a free-trader,—acting as a broker between the importer and the jobber, just to help 'em get clear of the duties which Government puts on to pay their idle officers. It's no harm to cheat the Government,—particklar when one gets along without swearing till all's blue in the custom-house. And, as betwixt man and man, I've never taken anybody in—man nor woman nother—and, what's more, I've always stuck to my engagements."

Provost, notwithstanding his roughness and questionable occupation, married the widow of James Alexander, and mother of Lord Stirling, an eminent American officer in the Revolutionary War. He was buried in the family vault, cut in a rocky knoll in Jones's Wood, near the house in which he lived the latter portion of his life. It is now a dilapidated ruin near the foot of Seventy-first Street. The marble slab which he placed over the vault in memory of his wife (and which commemorates him, also) lies neglected over the broken walls. Near the site of the tomb, the Germans, who love the open air, go thither on Sunday, in large numbers, and tents, wherein *lager-bier* is sold, form conspicuous objects in that still half-sylvan retreat. Provost died in 1791, aged ninety years.

* In the spring of 1832, S. G. Goodrich was in New York, and invited Mr. Cooper, the novelist, to dine with Percival at the City Hotel. Mr. Goodrich thus describes their appearance: "It is not easy to conceive of two persons more strongly contrasting with each other. As they sat side by side at the table, I noted the difference. Mr. Cooper was in person solid, robust, athletic;

lord Clark, have met in social converse and passed many a merry jest and brilliant repartee; here, too, McDonald Clark, the "Mad Poet,"* has often startled the little circle gathered around him by one of his strange outbursts of poetic frenzy; here, some of the liveliest sallies of the *Croaker* and most touching passages in *Yamoyden* were conceived and brought forth; and here, also, Sands first recited to his friends Stone, Verplanck, and John Inman, his last and most remarkable poem—*The Dead* of 1832.† Henceforth, let no one say that New York has no memories save those of the temples of the money-changer. The old Shakespeare Tavern has entertained coteries composed

in voice, manly; in manner, earnest, emphatic, almost dictatorial—with something of self-assertion bordering on egotism. * * * Percival, on the contrary, was tall and thin; his chest, sunken; his limbs, long and feeble; his hair, silken and sandy; his complexion, light and feminine; his eyes, large and spectral; his whole air startled; his attitudes, shy and shrinking; his voice, abashed and whispering. Mr. Cooper ate like a man of excellent appetite and vigorous digestion: Percival scarce seemed to know that he was at the table. Cooper took his wine as if his lips appreciated it: Percival swallowed his evidently without knowing or caring whether it was wine or water. Yet these two men conversed pleasantly together. After a time, Percival was drawn out, and the stores of his mind were poured forth as from a cornucopia. I could see Cooper's gray eye dilate with delight and surprise."

Percival, as is well known, was very eccentric, even if he was not at times deranged. He was more free in conversation with Mrs. Colonel Stone than perhaps with any other person. He was subject to deep dejections; and, when he was quite "in the depths," he would come to her, usually spending several days at the house; but he came and went suddenly. One morning, upon coming down to breakfast, she found a piece of poetry. It was on her plate; and he was not seen nor heard of for some time afterward. This piece of poetry, entitled "Musings at the House of a Friend," does not appear in his published poems, and is, therefore, given at the close of Appendix No. V.

* For several curious anecdotes of McDonald Clark, see Appendix No. V.

† This poem appeared in the *Commercial Advertiser* but a few days before Sands's death. "By a singular coincidence," says Mr. Verplanck, in his elegantly written sketch of the poet, "he chose for his theme the triumphs of Death and Time over the men who had died in the year just closing—Goethe, Cuvier, Spurzheim, Bentham, and Walter Scott; Champollion, 'who read the mystic lore of the Pharos; Crabbe, the poet of purity; Adam Clarke, the learned Methodist;—a goodly company, whom he himself was destined to join before the year had passed away."

of as choice spirits as ever supped at the "Turk's Head." True, all is now changed. Where formerly it stood, the hum of business and the rattling of drays have succeeded



PROVOST'S TOMB, JONES'S WOOD.

to the quiet that was once so grateful to the wearied frame; and a bare brick building usurps the site of the quaint vine-clad tavern. But, though all traces of it have

vanished, it will live in its traditions, which, like the ivy that formerly covered its portals, shall forever be entwined around the hearts of future generations.*

* On the death of its proprietor in 1824, the house passed to his connection by marriage, James C. Stoneall (afterward an alderman of the Second Ward), by whom the interior was remodeled and modernized, and a handsome bar-room fitted up in one corner, with an entrance on Fulton Street. Like his predecessor, Stoneall maintained the character of the house until the widening of Fulton Street caused its demolition.

CHAPTER IX.

It was during the mayoralty of Cornelius W. Lawrence that the great Flour Riot took place—a riot which, although I can find no mention of it save in the contemporaneous records of the day, at first threatened the most serious destruction to life and property.

The winter of 1836-'37 had been one of unusual severity. In addition to this, a scarcity of the cereal crops throughout the country, the preceding season (not more than one-half the usual quantity having been harvested), had raised flour to twelve and fifteen dollars a barrel—at that time an enormous price. The poorer class of citizens, as a matter of course, suffered greatly; and a mistaken idea having got abroad that a few of the larger flour and grain dealers had taken advantage of the scarcity to buy up all the flour in the city, there was added mental to physical distress. But, granting all this, it is extremely doubtful whether these feelings would have culminated in actual deeds of violence, had not two political factions—the Loco-foco and the Temperance—for their own ends, fanned the embers of discord into a blaze. The former, through their party organs, labored to stir up the evil passions in the bosoms of the laboring classes by the war-cry of “the poor against the rich;” while the latter attributed the scarcity of grain to the distilleries. A few weeks before

the riot, a public meeting had been held at the New York Tabernacle,* to consider and act upon the high price of grain and provisions, on which occasion the speeches evinced considerable heat, though they were not of an openly incendiary character. The fires, however, were only smoldering, and, accordingly, on Friday, the 10th of

February, 1837, a notice was published in some
1837.



of the newspapers, and conspicuously placarded through the city, of a meeting to be held in the Park on the afternoon of the next Monday, February 13th. The notice itself, as will be seen, was couched in language of a highly injudicious character, and well calculated to inflame the minds of the unthinking, and lead them into the excesses which they afterward committed.

The following is a fac-simile of the notice:

BREAD! MEAT! RENT! FUEL!!

THEIR PRICES MUST COME DOWN!

 *The voice of the people shall be heard and will prevail.*

 The people will meet in the PARK, *rain or shine*, at
4 o'clock MONDAY Afternoon, 

To enquire into the cause of the present unexampled distress, and to devise a suitable remedy. All friends of humanity, determined to resist monopolists and extortionists, are invited to attend.

MOSSES JACQUES,

PAULUS HEDL,

DANIEL A. ROBERTSON,

WARDEN HAYWARD,

DANIEL GORHAM,

JOHN WINDT,

ALEXANDER MING, JR.,

ELIJAH F. CRANE.

New York, February 10th, 1837.

* The New York Tabernacle, built in 1835-'36, and designed for a free church, was torn down in 1856, and re-erected in 1859 by the society, on the corner of Sixth Avenue and Thirty-fourth Street.

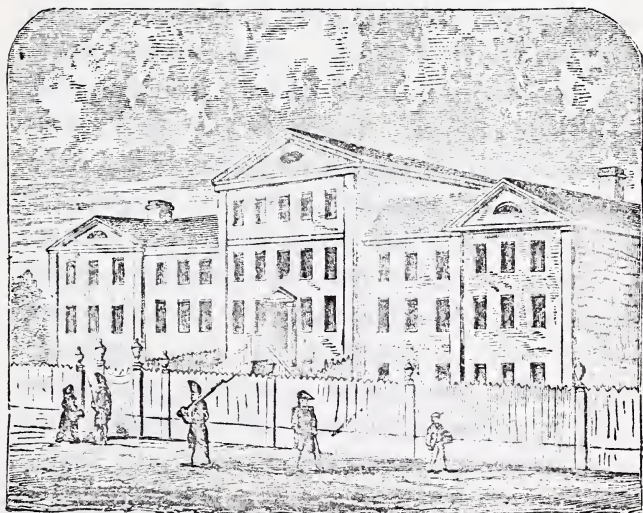
Under the above call, a mob of about six thousand people collected together, at the time appointed, in front of the City Hall, combining within itself all the elements of riot and revolution. Moses Jacques was selected as the chairman. Order was not the presiding genius, and the meeting was divided into various groups, each of which was harangued by some favorite demagogue after his own fashion and on his own account.

Conspicuous among the orators was Alexander Ming, Jr., and other speakers, who, in a most exciting manner, denounced the landlords and the holders of flour for the prices of rents and provisions. One of these orators, after working upon the passions of his audience until they were fitted for the work of spoliation and outrage, expressly directed the popular vengeance against Mr. Eli Hart, who was one of the most extensive flour-dealers in the city. "Fellow-citizens," he exclaimed, "Mr. Hart has now fifty-three thousand barrels of flour in his store. Let us go and offer him eight dollars a barrel, and if he does not take it"—here some person touched the orator on the shoulder, and he suddenly lowered his voice, and finished his sentence by saying, "*we shall depart from him in peace.*" This hint was sufficient. A large body of the rioters at once marched off in the direction of Mr. Hart's store, situated on Washington Street, between Dey and Cortlandt. The store was a large brick building, and had three wide but strong iron doors upon the street. Being apprised of the approach of the mob, the clerks secured the doors and windows, but not until the middle door had been forced, and some thirty barrels of flour rolled into the street, and their heads staved in. At this point Mr. Hart arrived on the ground with a posse of officers from the police. The latter were immediately assailed by a portion of the mob in Dey Street, their clubs wrested from them and shivered to pieces. The numbers of the

mob not being large enough at this time, the officers succeeded in entering the store, and for a short while delayed the work of destruction. The Mayor next arrived on the scene, and attempted to remonstrate with the infatuated multitude on the folly of their conduct, but to no purpose; their numbers were rapidly increasing, and his Honor was assailed with all sorts of missiles, and with such fury that he was compelled to retire. Meanwhile, large reinforcements of rioters having arrived from the Park, the officers were driven from the field, and the store carried by assault—the first iron door torn from its hinges being used as a battering-ram against the others. The rioters, like enraged and famished tigers, now rushed in; the windows and doors of the upper lofts were wrenched open, and the work of destruction again commenced. Barrels of flour by dozens, by fifties, and by hundreds were thrown in rapid succession from the windows, and the heads of those which did not break in falling were at once staved in. Intermingled with the flour were sacks of wheat by the hundred, which were cast into the street, and their contents emptied upon the pavement. About one thousand bushels of wheat and six hundred barrels of flour were thus wantonly and foolishly destroyed. The most active of those engaged in this were foreigners, debased by intemperance and crime—indeed, the greater part of the assemblage was of exotic growth; but there were probably a thousand others standing by and abetting their incendiary labors. Amidst the falling and bursting of the barrels and sacks of wheat, numbers of women were engaged, like the crones who strip the dead on the battle-field, filling the boxes and baskets with which they were provided, and their aprons, with flour, and making off with it. One of the destructives, a boy named James Roach, was seen upon one of the upper window-sills, throwing barrel after barrel into the street, and crying out with every throw,

"Here goes flour at eight dollars a barrel!"* Early in the assault, Mr. Hart's counting-room was entered, his books and papers seized and scattered to the winds.†

Night had now closed upon the scene; but the work of destruction did not cease until strong bodies of police arrived, followed soon after by detachments of troops. The store was then closed, and several of the rioters were arrested and sent to the Bridewell, under charge of



THE OLD BRIDEWELL.

the Chief of Police. On his way to the prison, the latter, with his assistants, was assailed, his coat torn off him, and several prisoners were rescued.

Before the close of the proceedings at Hart's store, the cry of "Meech" was raised, whereupon a detachment of the rioters crossed over to Coenties Slip to attack the

* This boy, however, with others, paid dearly for his flour, being afterward indicted, tried, and sent to prison for a term of years.

† Mr. Hart's loss was set down at \$10,000.

establishment of Meech & Co., also extensive flour-dealers. But the store of S. H. Herrick & Co., coming first in their way, they commenced an attack on that. The windows were first smashed in with a shower of brickbats, and the doors immediately afterward broken. Some thirty barrels of flour were then rolled into the street, and their heads staved in. The citizens and police, however, advancing in large force, compelled the mob to desist, and soon dispersed it, capturing, also, some of the rioters.

"At eight o'clock in the evening," writes Colonel William L. Stone to a friend on the morning after the occurrence, "all was quiet. I took a stroll over the scene of the principal riot, wading for a considerable distance knee-deep in flour and wheat. Several hundreds of people were yet lingering about, but the police were strong, and the patrols of troops frequent. I saw several women stealing away with small sacks of flour; but the weather was too intensely cold for people to remain abroad, and before nine all was quiet and still. The night was bright moonlight, and the glittering of the burnished armor made quite a striking appearance. Thus has ended the first attempt of the sovereign wisdom of this country to reduce the price of provisions by reducing the quantity in the market!"

A detachment of the military, consisting of the National Guards, under Colonel Smith, and Colonel Helas's regiment, were under arms the entire night, with muskets loaded and cartridge-boxes well supplied with powder and ball, ready to act promptly on hearing the signal from the great bell of the City Hall; but, happily, their services were not called into requisition.

Regarding this riot, the city authorities were greatly blamed for not taking official measures for the preservation of the peace of the city in anticipation of the meeting in the Park. They had had, it seems, full warning.

An anonymous letter had been found a day or two previous in the Park, addressed to a Mr. W. Lennox, informing him that Hart's store would be attacked soon by a large number of people; and that, the better to carry out this project, two alarms of fire were to be given, one near the Battery, and the other higher up Broadway; and while the attention of the police was thus distracted, the conspirators were to break into Hart's store and carry off as much flour as they could. Besides this letter, several other anonymous letters, to the same import, were received by the Mayor. It would therefore appear that the censure of the authorities by the public was not entirely undeserved.

In this riot some forty of the rioters were captured, and afterward indicted, tried, and sent to State Prison. The ringleaders, however, almost to a man, escaped. Not a single person who signed the call, nor, as can be discovered, a single orator who harangued the meeting, was tried. Nor did the mob succeed in bettering their condition. "One effect," says *Niles' Register* for the week after the riot, "has resulted from the doings of the *Political Economists* (!), which will add to the distress of that class they affected a desire to relieve. The stock of flour having been reduced, the price has naturally risen, and fifty cents per barrel more is now asked than was demanded previous to the mob."

The Great Fire of 1835, narrated in the preceding chapter, convinced the people of New York that the question of an ample supply of water could no longer be postponed. It had now been nearly seventy years since the subject of supplying New York with water began to attract the attention of the city authorities. Prior to the year 1799, the dependence of the people of the city for water was on the old "Collect Pond," the famous "Tea-

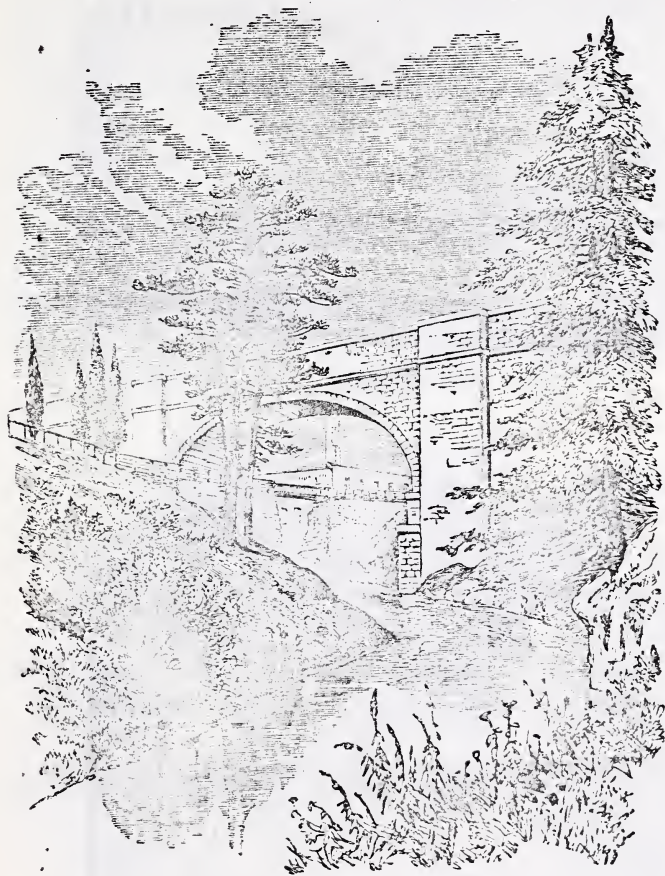
Water Pump," and wells in different parts of the city. In 1774, when the total population of the city did not exceed 22,000, works were constructed by Engineer Collis, on the east line of Broadway, between the present Pearl and White Streets. Here a reservoir was built, and a large well sunk in the "Collect Pond," now filled up and covered with costly buildings. The breaking out of the Revolutionary War in 1775, and the occupation of the city by the British, caused these works, while yet uncompleted, to be abandoned. The "Tea-Water Pump" was situated in Chatham Street, east of Pearl. Its water was pure and soft, and the pump was resorted to from all parts of the city. As late as 1797, the records of the Common Council indicate its popularity, a resolution having been passed to prevent the street being obstructed by the water-carts, and the owner required to raise and lengthen the spout for the convenience of passers on the sidewalk. A fruitless effort was again made in 1798-'99 to obtain water for the city from the River Bronx, but no further action was taken at that time, owing to the organization of the Manhattan Company. This Company, which was incorporated April 2d, 1799, supplied the city until 1822. The Manhattan Works, however, had long since proved comparatively worthless; and, after much discussion—the people meanwhile having decided the question of "water or no water" in the affirmative, by a large majority vote—it was resolved to construct an aqueduct from the Croton River, distant forty miles from New York, which should conduct the waters of that stream into the city. The work was, accordingly, forthwith begun, and finished in 1842. Never was there a better investment made than that of the Croton Aqueduct by the citizens of any other city. It has proved itself of great benefit, not only in a sanitary and financial point of view, but as a real source of enjoyment—its construction having given rise



MOUTH OF THE CROTON RIVER

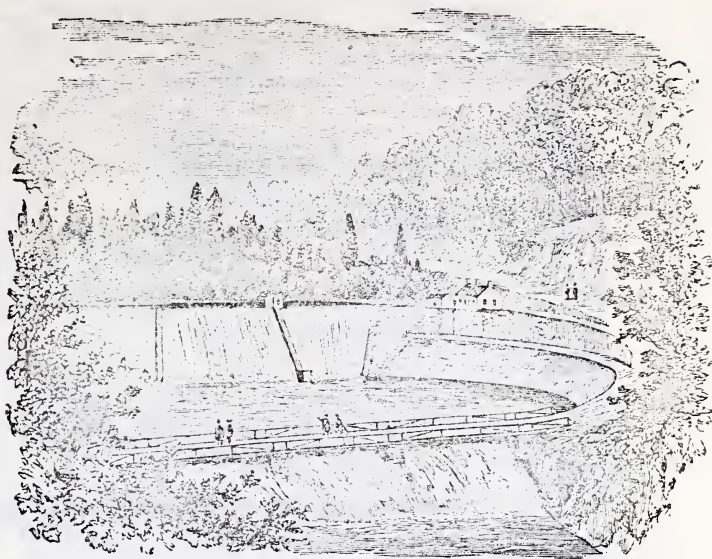
to many imposing works of art of which New-Yorkers may justly be proud.

Beginning at the "Dam," the waters of the Croton flow to the Distributing Reservoir in Central Park, forty



CROTON AQUEDUCT AT SING SING.

miles and a half, through a covered viaduct made of stone and brick. In its course, it flows through sixteen tunnels in rock, varying in length from one hundred and sixty to one thousand two hundred and sixty-three feet. As it passes through Sing Sing and over the Kill, it becomes an



CROTON DAM.



THE HIGH BRIDGE.



VIEW ON BLOOMINGDALE ROAD.



VIEW IN CENTRAL PARK.

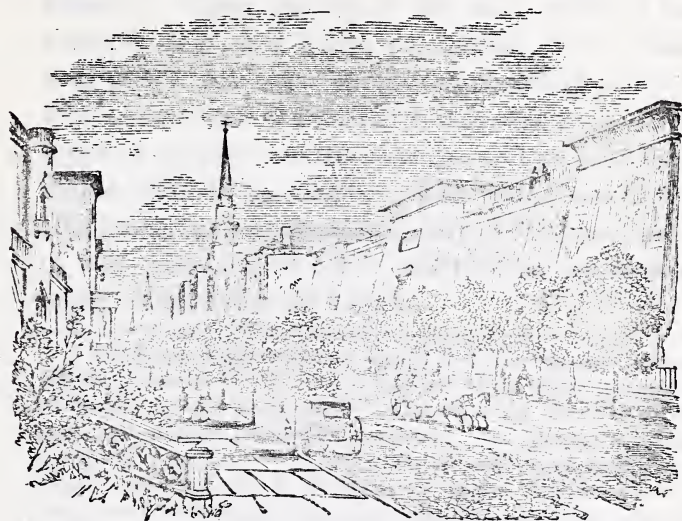
elliptical arch of hewn granite, of eighty-eight feet span, with its key-stone more than seventy feet from the waters of the brook beneath it. In Westchester County it crosses twenty-five streams, from twelve to seventy feet below the line of grade, besides numerous small brooks furnished with culverts. Upon its reaching Harlem River, it passes



MANHATTANVILLE FROM CLAREMONT.

over from the main-land to Manhattan Island by the "High Bridge," justly considered one of the most magnificent structures on the continent. Built of granite, the "High Bridge," or aqueduct, is one thousand four hundred and fifty feet in length, and rests upon arches sup-

ported by fourteen pieces of heavy and elaborate masonry. Eight of these arches are eighty feet span, and six of them fifty feet high. The height of the bridge above the water is one hundred and fourteen feet. The original cost of this structure was nearly a million of dollars. This point forms one of the "lions" of the city—to which any



THE RESERVOIR, FIFTH AVENUE.

"cousin" or "friend" who visits New York must certainly be taken during his or her stay. Nor, indeed, could a more charming drive be taken in the suburbs of the city than this. The Bloomingdale Road, which, leading through Manhattanville, conducts the visitor from the city to the "High Bridge," and, passing between hills covered with wood, affords, in the heats of summer, a delightful change from the dust and scorching stone sidewalks and brick walls of the town.

From the "High Bridge" (which, by the way, is at the foot of One Hundred and Seventy-fourth Street), the waters pass the Clendening Valley in an aqueduct one thousand nine hundred feet in length, and enter the Receiv-

ing Reservoir in the Central Park. Hence the waters are conveyed to the Distributing Reservoir on Murray Hill.

- The Reservoir stands in solemn contrast to the gay buildings of the Fifth Avenue, by which it is surrounded. "Its walls, in Egyptian style, are of dark granite, and average forty-four feet in height above the adjacent streets." Upon the top of the wall, which is reached by massive steps, is a broad promenade, from which may be obtained a fine view of the surrounding country. Perfect security for the visitor is obtained by a strong battlement of granite on the outside, and an iron fence on the inside nearest the water. The water was first let into this reservoir on the 4th of July, 1842; and, on the 14th of the following October, distributed, by means of iron pipes, throughout the city.*

* The Croton Dam covers an area of four hundred acres, and contains 500,000,000 gallons of water. The usual flow of the water through the pipes is 30,000,000; its capacity 60,000,000. The Receiving Reservoir covers thirty-five acres, and contains 150,000,000 of gallons. The Distributing Reservoir holds 21,000,000 of gallons. "The ridge line, or water shed, enclosing the Croton Valley above the dam is 101 miles in length. The stream is 39 miles in length, and its tributaries 136 miles. The total area of the valley is 352 square miles, and within it are 31 natural lakes and ponds."—*Lossing's Book of the Hudson*.

CHAPTER X.

NEW YORK had now fairly distanced all competitors. The gas had been introduced into the city in 1825; the New York University, notwithstanding the "Stone-cutters' Riot," finished in 1835; the magnificent Merchants' Exchange (the present Custom-house), and the Custom-house (now the Sub-treasury), erected in 1827; the Croton Aqueduct completed, and its practical utility inaugurated by a brilliant procession, in 1842, and a communication by the magnetic telegraph opened with other cities. Nothing was wanting to her *temporal* 1842. prosperity; her *civil* freedom was all that could be desired. One thing only was necessary to place her on a footing with her sister cities in breadth and liberality of sentiment. Nor was she long in taking this last step. By the provision of an act passed by the New York Board of Education on the 11th of April, 1842, it was declared that no school in which any religious or sectarian doctrine or tenet was taught should receive any portion of the school moneys to be distributed by this act. Archbishop Hughes at once took the ground that to allow the Bible to be read daily in the schools was teaching a sectarian doctrine, and therefore demanded that the schools in which it was read should not be included in the distribution of the moneys. Colonel Wm. L. Stone, who for many years had been one

of the School Commission, and at this time (1843-'44) was the county superintendent of the Common Schools,* immediately protested against the promulgation of this atrocious sentiment. A lengthy public discussion upon this point followed between the Archbishop and Colonel Stone, in which the latter carried the day; and at a meeting of the Board of Education, held November 13, 1844 (three months after Colonel Stone's death), the act was amended by a resolution to the effect "that the Bible, without note or comment, is not a sectarian book, and that the reading of a portion of the Scriptures without note or comment, at the opening of the

* The difficulty which the author experienced in endeavoring to discover the year in which Colonel Stone was Superintendent of Common Schools deserves particular mention, as showing the shiftless manner in which the public records are kept in the city of New York. Wishing to ascertain the exact year in which Mr. Stone held the office, he went to a gentleman (we will call him A), whom he knew to be engaged in writing a history of our common schools, and asked the question. The gentleman was unable to tell him at the moment, but referred him to the Board of Education as the place where, of course, the desired information could be obtained. The author went there and asked an officer of the Board the question. He could not tell him, but referred him to a gentleman upstairs who would know. The latter, however, was equally in the dark, but, in his turn, referred his questioner to a gentleman down-stairs in another department, who, having been connected with the Board for a long term of years, would certainly know. Upon repeating the question to this one, he was informed that he did not know, as, until within a few years, the school records had not been annually printed, and that the manuscript kept by the different secretaries before that time was mislaid. He, however, was positive that if he should go to Mr. —, in Wall Street, he would know, as he was one of the School Commissioners in the year designated. To him, therefore, the author went; but his astonishment may well be imagined when that person said he had entirely forgotten, but stated that if he would go to such a one—mentioning the veritable *Mr. A.*—he could undoubtedly tell him, as he was now engaged upon a history of the common schools! This, if not "reasoning in a circle," certainly was questioning in a circle, the questioner having brought up at the very point from which he started! Finally, upon the author making a second visit to the room of the Board, an *attaché* of the place, who had a dim recollection of a record-book being in the cellar, went down-stairs, and, after much search, exhumed the manuscript, from which, after patient search, the desired information was brought to light. Now, if such difficulty exists in ascertaining—not an insignificant fact, but one relating to the Superintendent of Common Schools only twenty years since—what would

schools, is not inculcating or practicing any religious or sectarian doctrine or tenet of any particular Christian or other religious sect." The catholic spirit of New York's Dutch ancestors had triumphed. Henceforth it is to be hoped that she will be as cosmopolitan in her religious as she is in her civil rights.

In 1845 New York was again visited by a conflagration second only in its ravages to the one of 1835.

The burnt district embraced Broadway, Exchange Place, New, Broad, Beaver, Marketfield, Stone and Whitehall Streets, and—which is a striking coincidence—a portion of the same region devastated by the great conflagration in 1835, ten years before.

1845.

be the difficulty in finding the history of events which occurred thirty, forty, or fifty years ago?

We have stated the above with no intention of throwing censure upon the officers of the present Board. The fault lies not at their door. On the contrary, with great courtesy, they endeavored to aid us to the extent of their ability, and realized in its fullest extent the evils of the manner in which the records had in former times been kept. Indeed, it is only justice to say that it has been through their exertions that the proceedings have latterly been printed.

Another remarkable illustration of the subject existed a few years ago in the basement of the City Hall, under the County Clerk's office. The ancient rolls of the Colonial Courts were one grand pile of parchment, lying in mass, and great quantities were stolen and sold to gold-beaters. It would probably be impossible at the present time to find the judgment-roll in any cause tried prior to the year 1787, unless by chance. Possibly there has been more care of late in the preservation of these records. Their value cannot be overestimated. (See also Appendix XII., in regard to the destruction of the records in the Hall of Records by the mice.)

Although there may be spasmodic attempts by individuals to bring about a reform in this regard, yet we greatly fear that it will continue so long as the true cause of the difficulty remains, to wit, that political maxim—the bane of American institutions—"to the victors belong the spoils." New office-holders care little for old records; and, throwing aside all sentiment in the matter, unless this thing is rectified, it will, in time, embarrass the practical business relations of every-day life. More attention must be paid to preserving records. It is not necessary to make enormous jobs, such as the atrocity which was perpetrated in New York City in reference to the Register's office. What is needed is a general respect for the value of old records, and the adoption of preservative means.

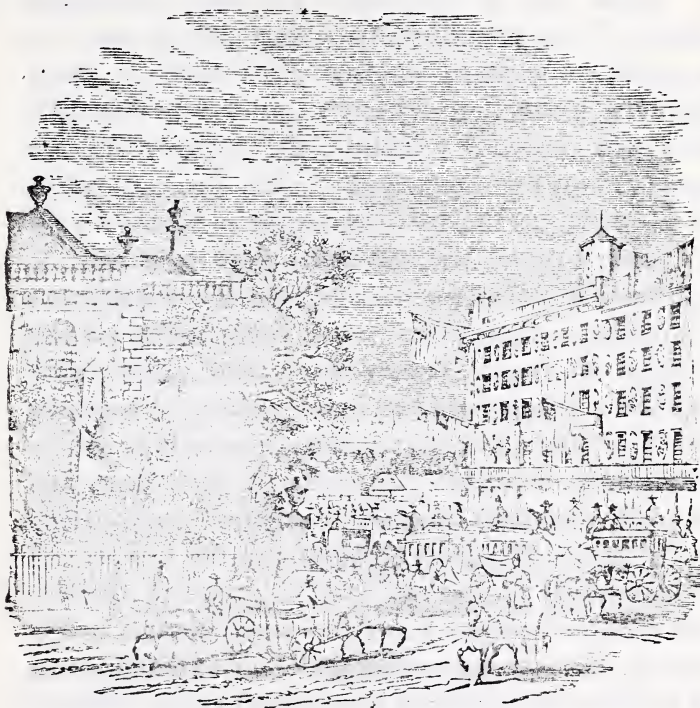
"It broke out on July 19th, 1845, completely destroying Exchange Place and Beaver Street, from Broadway almost to William. Both sides of Broad Street, from above Exchange Place to Stone, with the east sides of Broadway and Whitehall, were consumed. Above Exchange Place the flames crossed Broadway, and consumed a number of buildings on its west side. During the progress of the fire a tremendous explosion took place, similar to that of 1835, in a building stored with saltpeter. The owner contended that this article could not explode, which gave rise to the long-debated question, "Will saltpeter explode?" and for a long time able and scientific men warmly took sides in the arguments. Explosive or not, this was the second store filled with the article that blew up, causing great alarm and destruction to the neighborhood.

"Three hundred and forty-five buildings were swept away at this time. Their value, with the goods, was estimated at about five millions of dollars. Among other things destroyed was the "Old Jail Bell," which had hung and rung in the cupola of that ancient civil pest-house and prison during the American Revolution. There, as already stated, for years it was the fire-alarm, or signal, and was considered especially the firemen's bell, as it could be depended upon at all times. At an early period, when it uttered its warning tones, citizens, with fire-buckets on their arms, might have been seen hastening to the scene of danger and forming into parallel lines, one to pass the full buckets to fill the engines, and the other to return the empty ones for refilling. Most of the New York families had such leather buckets, which generally hung in some prominent part of the hall or entry, ready at hand in case of need." *

The signal-bell rang in the days of John Lamb and pleasant-faced Tommy Franklin, and during Jameson

* Hon. G. P. Disosway.

Cox's and Wyman's and Gulick's administrations. It was cherished by the firemen, and, upon the destruction of the Bridewell, the old bell was placed in the cupola of the Naiad Hose Company, Beaver Street, and was still devoted to its long-established uses. But the great fire of '45 swept away this building, with its venerable bell; and the faithful old public sentinel, sounding its last alarm, suc-



BARNUM'S MUSEUM AND ST. PAUL'S CHURCH.

cumbed to the flaming foe against which it had so many years successfully warned the citizens.

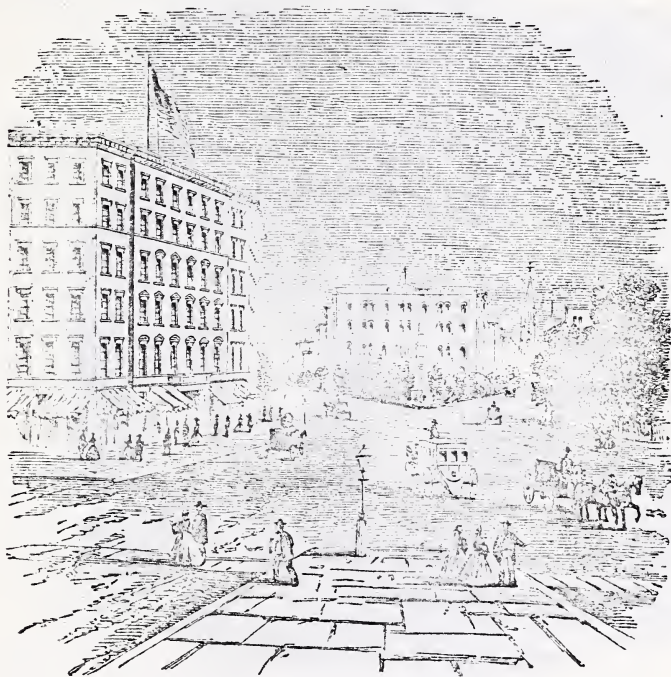
Many fires have occurred since the one of 1845. The Crystal Palace (1858), Barnum's Museum (1865), Harper's Building (1853), the old Irving House and the Academy of Music (1866), and the Winter Garden Theater (1867), have fallen before the destroyer—each involving

heavy losses ; but the city has never since been visited by such wholesale destruction of property ; and it is fervently to be hoped that New York, protected by its present efficient Fire Department, has experienced the last of similar calamities.

Indeed, with the exception of Constantinople, New York has, perhaps, suffered more frequently from conflagrations than any other city in the world. Hamilton said in his time that one could not be twenty-four hours in New York without hearing an alarm of fire. This observation was repeated by a writer who published a small work, in 1837, called *A Glance at New York*, who added that one alarm a day would be a small average, and that it would be nearer the truth to say that the firemen of New York were called out five hundred times a year—a statement which all familiar with New York at that time, and for years before it, can corroborate. Many of these, undoubtedly, were false alarms, raised by boys for the pleasure of running after the fire-engines. We have had no fire of the magnitude of that of London in 1666, which laid waste four hundred and thirty-six acres, destroyed eighty-nine churches, thirteen thousand two hundred houses, and left two hundred thousand people temporarily without homes ; nor like the fire in Hamburg, in 1842, which burned down sixty-one streets and one thousand seven hundred and forty-seven houses ; nor like the Chicago fire, which burned over five acres, and left one hundred thousand of her citizens houseless. But if the frequency of fires in the city, the magnitude of some of them, and the amount of property destroyed, be collectively considered, it will be seen that New York, perhaps, has suffered more heavily from this kind of calamity than any other city of modern times.

Still, it must be admitted that, as a general thing, all of the conflagrations, both general and individual, with

which New York has been visited, have in the end proved of great benefit, by causing more spacious and elegant edifices to arise, phoenix-like, out of the ashes. Perhaps in no other city of either hemisphere is there such a number of magnificent public and private edifices. Take Fifth Avenue, for example, which, although at present the chief of the fashionable promenades, is by no means the only handsome thoroughfare. For a distance of

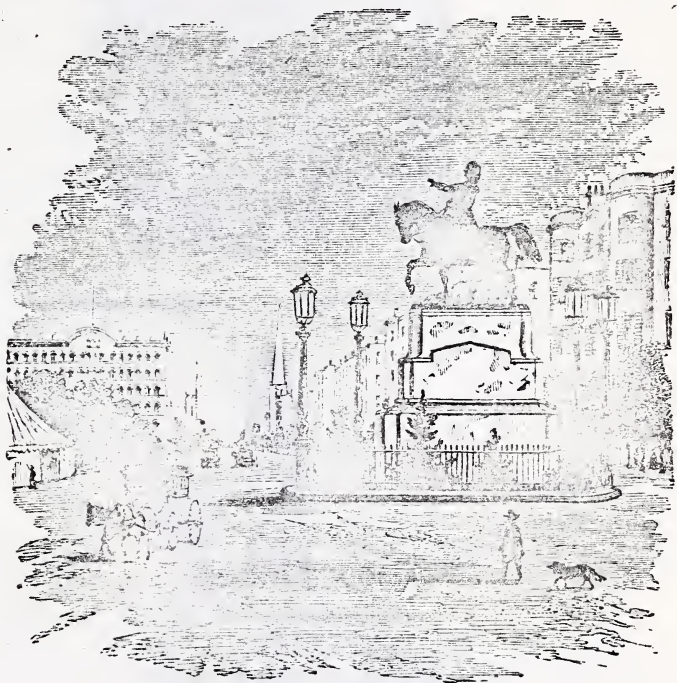


FIFTH AVENUE HOTEL, MADISON SQUARE.

more than two miles one may pass between houses of the most costly description, built chiefly of brown free-stone, some of it elaborately carved. Travelers agree that in no other city in the world can there be found an equal number of really splendid mansions in a single street. At Madison Square, between Twenty-third and Twenty-sixth Streets, it is crossed diagonally by Broadway. At

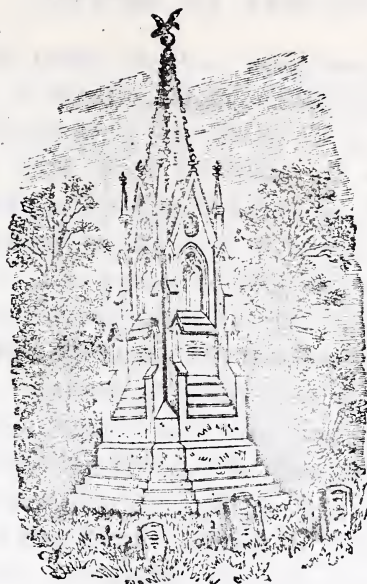
the intersection, and fronting Madison Park, is the Fifth Avenue Hotel, built of white marble, and said to be one of the largest and most elegant buildings of the kind in the world.

It is therefore, not a little singular that New York, with her traditions and memories, should have so few



UNION SQUARE.

public monuments. True, there are a number of statues ; such, for example, as those of Washington, Lincoln, and Franklin, erected successively in 1856, 1870, and 1872 ; but it is a literal fact that, with the exception of the mural one to the memory of General Montgomery, in the front wall of St. Paul's, and the soldiers' monument in Trinity church-yard, the only public monument that



SOLDIERS' MONUMENT IN TRINITY CHURCH-YARD.



WORTH'S MONUMENT.

can, with truth, be thus designated, is the one to the memory of the late General William J. Worth, of the United States army, erected by the corporation of the city of New York in 1858. It is of Quincy granite, 1858. the apex is fifty-one feet from the ground, and the smooth surface of the shaft is broken by raised bands, on which are the names of the battles in which General Worth had distinguished himself in the War of 1812 and the war with Mexico. On the lower section of the shaft are representations of military trophies in bronze relief. The entire execution and designing of the work is due to Mr. James G. Batterson, who deserves great praise for the admirable manner in which his task was performed. The site of the monument—which is inclosed in a plain iron railing, and surrounded by green turf—is most happily chosen; and, in addition to being a worthy tribute to a beloved and gallant soldier of the Empire State, is a handsome ornament to the brilliant and fashionable locality.

In the same year (1845) the Post-office was removed from the Rotunda in the City Hall Park to the Middle Dutch Church, where it still (1872) remains. 1845. *Harper's Magazine* for October, 1871, in giving a reliable and minute sketch of the New York Post-office and its traditions, says:

“Immediately after the destruction of the Post-office in the great fire of 1835, it had been removed temporarily to the brick stores in Pine, near Nassau Street; the destruction of such an enormous number of buildings making it impossible to obtain a suitable building in the vicinity of the burned district. In this strait, the city authorities offered the Rotunda in the City Hall Park, erected in 1818, by Vandelyn, the artist, for a studio and the exhibition of panoramic pictures. When it was understood the Government proposed to accept the Rotunda, busy as the merchants were in re-establishing themselves and counting up their losses, they found time to get up very demonstrative indignant meetings and protests against locating a post-office so far up town.

“The Post-office was, however, installed in the Rotunda, and the commercial pressure of 1837, which followed the great fire, diverted the public mind from the location of the Post-office. Illustrative of the pecuniary disaster of the period may be mentioned that, in the ‘collapse,’ many of the merchants of the day owed the letter-carriers various sums, ranging from fifty to one hundred and

fifty dollars, much of which money was never paid, the debtors being irretrievably ruined. This year the mail time between New York and New Orleans was reduced to six days and six hours. But the people, nevertheless, were impatient for more rapid communication, for we find in a Chicago paper of the time this notice:

"**HIGHLY IMPORTANT.**—By a foot passenger from the South we learn that the long-expected mail may be looked for in a week."

"Fortunately for the interests of commerce and the unity of the country, rapid transit of news, cheap postage, and facilities for traveling, were approaching consummation in the erection of railroad lines, with which private enterprise was threading every section of the country. One triumph announced seemed only to create a demand for another, and when Amos Kendall carried



THE MIDDLE DUTCH CHURCH DURING THE REVOLUTION.

out the idea of connecting the non-continuous lines of railways by pony expresses, there was added a new value to the Post-office of New York. It began to assume its present central importance, and the promise of its brilliant future was almost realized, when the firing of guns from our national forts and vessels, with the ringing of bells, and cheers of thousands of exultant men, all joined in welcoming the first appearance of steam merchantmen in our harbor—the ever-to-be-remembered *Sirius* and *Great Western*.

"The inconvenience of having the Post-office so far from the center of business was still complained of, and, to quiet dissatisfaction as far as possible, a letter-delivery was established in the new Merchants' Exchange, where the

Custom-house is now located, and placed in charge of Jameson Cox, an alderman and ex-chief-engineer. For letters two cents, for papers one cent, extra, was charged, which sums were paid without complaint by the merchants, and the amount thus collected paid to letter-carriers' charges.

"In the year 1826, Mr. Gouverneur had been removed, and James Page, Esq., postmaster of Philadelphia, commissioned to take charge, which supervision was maintained for six weeks, when Jonathan J. Coddington was commissioned postmaster. When the latter assumed the duties of his position the Post-office was in the Rotunda building and in the house of a hook-and-ladder company adjoining, and a 'hose-house on the opposite side of the way.' Nothing could have been more inconvenient, contrary to good discipline, and injurious to expeditious business operations. To remedy these evils, Mr. Coddington built a handsome extension facing toward Wall Street. With this important addition, and other improvements, he brought the entire business (now constantly increasing) under one roof. The mails were received in Chambers Street, the box delivery was on Center Street, while the interior of the Rotunda was devoted to the general delivery.

"The location of the Post-office in the Rotunda seemed to be unsatisfactory to citizens living in every part of the city. An application was therefore made for the establishment of a branch post-office for the receipt and delivery of the mails in the upper part of the city. The reply was, that such an office could only be a branch of the one already existing, and that no compensation could be allowed for services beyond the two cents per letter paid the carriers. It was also doubted if the extent of New York demanded such an addition to its postal facilities. The proposition was also submitted to Mr. Coddington, and was opposed by him and his clerks. The subject was finally referred to the Chamber of Commerce, which recommended that there be established a sub-post-office for the reception of letters at Chatham Square, but not any place for the delivery of letters other than the existing arrangements at the Post-office and by the penny post. Such was the origin of the Chatham Square post-office, which maintained its popularity and usefulness until its occupation was destroyed by the present iron boxes now so familiar on the street corners.

"So much esteemed was Mr. Coddington by the officials at Washington, that the Postmaster-General, under General Harrison's administration, informed him that, though a political opponent of the administration, he might retain his position. One week after this notice President Harrison died, and his successor, John Tyler, promptly requested Mr. Coddington to renew his bonds. On this hint, after some hesitation, he did as requested, and forwarded them to Washington in June. The reply was promptly returned in the form of a commission creating 'John Lorimer Graham postmaster of New York, in place of Jonathan Coddington removed.'

"Mr. Coddington is still remembered among the old clerks of the Post-office, and the old merchants of the city, as one of the best of officers. He tried to learn the details of his position, and took pride in making every improvement that would render his department efficient. He was a man of great personal independence, and, though a decided politician, he would not allow his bias that way to affect his official conduct. On one occasion a committee of ward politicians called upon him, and stated, through their chairman, that he had been assessed fifty dollars for partisan purposes. Mr. Coddington heard the proposition with patience, and then rising from his chair said :

"I refuse to pay any such assessment as this you speak of. I'd have you understand that I am postmaster of New York City, and not postmaster of a ward committee."

"The pressure to get the Post-office 'down town' still continued, and advantage was taken of the fact that the 'Middle Dutch Church' was for sale to procure it for a Post office. There was nothing in the world so unsuited as the building for such a purpose; but the location was desirable, and the merchants went to work to press the matter upon the Government. The property was offered for \$350,000, but the Postmaster-General decided not to give more than \$400,000. Lest the purchase might not be consummated, the merchants in a few hours raised by voluntary contributions the additional \$50,000, and the old church was secured for secular purposes.

"The extravagance and folly of the Federal Government in buying property erected for a church, and attempting to alter it to accommodate a post-office, or in leasing any kind of private property and fitting it up for public service, finds an illustration, but not an exceptionable one, in this 'high old Dutch Church Post-office of New York city.' It may not be out of place to mention to the general reader that this old church was dedicated, in 1732, as a house of Christian worship. Until the close of the century its services were carried on in the 'Holland language;' after that it was alternated with the English language. In the year 1776 the British tore out its pews, and (with the adjoining building, the old Sugar-house) used it as a prison for American patriots, taken and treated as rebels. When no longer needed for this purpose, it served in rainy weather as a school-house for cavalry. When the British evacuated New York the congregation again took possession, removed the pulpit and altar from the eastern side to the northern end, and erected the heavy, formidable galleries, destined eventually to become so conspicuous in the economy of the Post-office.

"Perhaps no building could be invented more unsuited for the purposes to which it has been appropriated. John Lorimer Graham, who had the responsible and difficult task of making it available, commenced by expending on the attempt what was then the large sum of \$80,000. He then issued a printed circular, surmounted by a picture of the old church, dated New York, January 2d, 1845, which read:

"The postmaster has great pleasure in announcing to his fellow-citizens that the *new* Post-office building (112 years old) in Nassau Street, will be ready for occupation in a few days, and respectfully invites, &c., &c., to view the interior arrangements of the establishment."

"It was a grand time when the citizens crowded into this old church to look for the Post-office. The eighty thousand dollars had made no material change; to be sure, the altar railing was gone, but the pulpit remained, and the galleries, left intact, resembled great overhanging amphitheatres. But the Post-office was finally installed; and then commenced that era in its business history that has made it a sort of visible standard, or gauge, of the mighty growth of old Manhattan.

"The inconvenience, the necessarily miserable arrangements, the total unfitness of the place—inherently so by the main design of the building—have been a source of constant discomfort and annoyance, and made the labors of the clerks and the supervision of the executive officers onerous to the last degree. During the first year of the occupation, the space immediately around the build-

ing was still covered with the tablets of what should have been the truly honored dead; for there lay the representatives of a large part of our ancient and best population. The vaults under and around the church gave up their dead when the profane feet of the busy multitude pressed forward toward the church, not for prayer, but from the absorbing interest in the living, bustling world. For a long year the strange spectacle was presented of coffins and mail-bags, of carts and extemporized hearses, jostling each other while engaged in their allotted work; but at last this incongruous mingling of the dead population and the living ended; but the forbidding look of that old castellated church remained.

"The tower, bountifully made of stone, continued, and still continues, to look down sullenly on the bustle beneath, while the strong walls of the church inside, announcing, in Dutch, that 'My house shall be called a house of prayer,' and the rough plastered walls outside, speaking of the wasting storms of nearly a hundred and fifty years, repudiate all harmonious minglings and sympathies with the secular business of distributing the mails.

"But the place is not without its living defenders of old traditional possession. The mynheers are gone; the Knickerbockers know the place no more; but the rats, descendants of the original stock, keep high revel still, and continue to dispute possession with Uncle Sam and his salaried cohorts."*

It was while Caleb S. Woodhull was Mayor that a terrible riot occurred in Astor Place. It was at this time that the Native American Party was all-powerful
1849. in the city, and the greatest prejudice existed among the populace against any one of foreign birth. Such was the state of popular feeling when, in the autumn of 1848, William C. Macready, a well-known and eminent English tragedian, came to this country to play a farewell engagement. Some hostility existed between him and Edwin Forrest, an equally well-known and eminent American tragedian, arising, as Macready assumed, from the unfriendly course of Forrest toward him while Macready was playing in this country in 1844, and, as Forrest claimed, from the course pursued toward him by Macready while the latter was playing in England, which hostility was greatly augmented by Forrest having hissed Macready, in Edinburgh, for introducing something of his own in the play of Hamlet, in which he was performing the principal character. When Macready was announced

* For a more detailed account, taken from the same source, see Appendix No. IV.

to appear in New York, in 1848, it was anticipated that some opposition would be manifested toward him by the friends of Forrest, but Forrest dissuaded them from any such attempt. Macready went through his engagement without interruption, and, upon his benefit night, injudiciously, in his speech to the audience, referred to the project of a party or faction to excite hostile feelings against him, and of its failure, in language which had the effect of arousing an active opposition to him on the part of the friends of Forrest. He was attacked by a Boston newspaper while performing in that city, and, upon his subsequent appearance in Philadelphia, a riot in the theater was prevented only by the strenuous exertions of the manager and the presence of a strong police force. At the close of this engagement, Macready, in his speech to the audience, referred to the ungenerous treatment he had received at the hands of an American actor, and Forrest replied, in a card in a Philadelphia newspaper, charging Macready with instigating persons to write him down in the newspapers while he was in England, and procuring his friends to go to the theater, to hiss and drive him from the stage; in which card he applied to Macready such epithets as "superannuated driveler," "poor old man," and spoke of the disturbed state of his guilty conscience; to which card Macready rejoined by another, denying the truth of Forrest's statements, and threatening an action for libel. No further attempt was made to oppose Macready, although he continued to be assailed in the newspapers, until his reappearance at the Astor Place Opera-house, in May, 1849, where, upon the first night of his appearance, he was prevented from performing by the hisses and demonstrations of a number of persons acting in concert, who displayed banners, with inflammatory appeals, in different parts of the house. As he persisted in performing, the demonstrations against him became

more violent; chairs and missiles were thrown upon the stage, and he was compelled to desist from his attempt. As the hostility against him was supposed to proceed from a very limited number of persons, who had organized together to drive him from the stage, it elicited strong expressions of condemnation on the part of several of the public newspapers, and forty-eight prominent citizens signed and published a letter requesting him to reconsider his determination not to perform, and assuring him that the good sense and respect for order in the community would sustain him upon the subsequent nights of his performance; in consequence of which letter he was announced to appear on the evening of May 10th, 1849. This letter had a very different effect from what its signers anticipated, and greatly intensified the opposition. It was regarded as a challenge or defiance, by a few representing the upper or wealthier classes, to the less prominent part of the community, and national prejudices and antipathies were aroused by appeals through certain newspapers, prominent among which was a weekly publication denominated *Ned Buntline's Own*, conducted by E. C. Z. Judson, and by the posting and distribution of incendiary handbills throughout the city. Through these means, and from a report, which spread extensively, that the officers and crews of the British vessels and steamers in the harbor would assemble at the theater to sustain Macready, the excitement became general throughout the city, and, a serious disturbance being apprehended, the Mayor advised the managers of the Opera-house to close it for that evening, and abandon any further attempt of a public performance in the city on the part of Macready. The managers, however, insisted upon their right, under their license, to open the theatre and perform, and the public authorities, in recognition of it, took measures to prevent any disturbance of the peace by stationing a

strong police force in and around the Opera-house ; and arrangements were made with the major-general commanding the uniformed militia to have an efficient military force in readiness to sustain the authorities, if necessary. Long before the opening of the Opera-house, large crowds assembled about and in front of it, and upon the opening of the doors the theater was speedily filled by persons having tickets, and without any disturbance or disorder. When Macready appeared the whole audience rose, and, the great bulk of those present being friendly to him, he was received with cheers and the waving of handkerchiefs, mingled with the groans and hisses of the few who were opposed to him. The noise continuing, a placard was displayed from the stage, requesting those in favor of order to remain quiet, which was complied with. About ten or fifteen persons, however, in the parquet, and some in the gallery, continued their opposition by hissing and angry demonstrations, and, as they would not desist, they were arrested by the police. Order was temporarily restored, and the play proceeded, but with occasional interruptions and hisses. Meanwhile the crowd upon the outside of the theater had largely augmented, and a group of young men, about twenty in number, were especially active in fomenting disturbance, conspicuous among whom was the prisoner Judson, with whom many of the young men frequently conferred, and who appeared to be acting as their leader. Judson was heard to say, "It is a shame that Americans should be served so!" and after a conference with three of the young men, in a low tone, Judson called out, "Now, boys, whatever you have to do must be done quickly!" and one of the young men shouted, "Now, boys, for a shower!" to which Judson, in his assumed capacity as a leader, called out, "Hold, boys, until you are all ready!" and immediately a volley of stones was discharged against the walls and windows of the Opera-

house, upon which the police arrested several of the participants, but not without very great resistance on the part of others. In the interior of the house the play was proceeding, when it was suddenly interrupted by a large paving stone, which came through one of the windows and fell among the audience, followed by other stones, smashing the panels of the doors and falling in the lobby and other places. The wildest scene of confusion ensued in the interior of the theater, which was heightened by the cry that it was on fire under the parquet, which proved to be the fact, and through this timely warning it was speedily extinguished. Notwithstanding the activity of the police in making arrests, the attacks upon the Operahouse were continued outside with increased violence. A large number now united in assailing it with stones, breaking the windows and attempting to force the doors at the entrances, which were resisted by the police, and the doors were barricaded from the inside, when a proposition was made, but not carried out, to enter the building from the rear by ladders; a plan devised by the prisoner Judson, who had had ladders brought there for that purpose, with the design of entering the building in that way to put a stop to the performance and drive out the audience. The crowd on the Eighth Street side of the theater, as described by the witnesses, was wild with excitement, and at the front, upon Astor Place, were wrought up to the highest pitch, heaving to and fro like the waves of the ocean, the number of persons being variously estimated at from ten to twenty thousand. Stones and missiles were flying in all directions, and the police, after vainly endeavoring to allay the disturbance, and deserted by the Mayor, who fled from the scene, were compelled to keep compactly together for their own security. The recorder and the sheriff, who were upon the spot promptly, placed themselves at the head of the police and kept them

together, who were now assailed with stones, missiles, and cries of derision from every quarter, in their unavailing attempt, as a body, to disperse the crowd, and some of them were very severely injured.

As it was apparent that the police force was insufficient to protect the building or to quell the riot, which had increased to alarming proportions, the sheriff, with the advice of the recorder, dispatched a messenger for the military. The major-general had ordered the Seventh regiment of infantry, known as the National Guard, and a troop of horse, to assemble at the arsenal, fully equipped, but, owing to the shortness of the notice, a force of but two hundred and seven men, in all, had assembled when the call came for their services; and this body, under the command of Colonel Duryea, and accompanied by Major-General Sanford and Brigadier-General Hall, hastened to the scene of disturbance. Upon entering Astor Place, the troop of horse, which was in front, was assailed by a shower of stones and brickbats, which were so continuous and rapid that nearly every man in the troop was injured. Their horses became unmanageable, and, being thrown into confusion, they individually galloped off, leaving the infantry alone to contend with the rioters. The small body of infantry was speedily wedged in by the pressure of the crowd upon either side, and assailed by opprobrious epithets and paving stones, an ample supply of which was at the command of the rioters, from a large pile in the street, the pavement having been recently broken up to put down water pipes. The military, however, being kept together in good order and efficiently commanded, forced their way through the crowd and cleared the rear of the theater, the rioters retreating before them as they advanced, and, having effectually cleared Eighth Street, a cordon of police was thrown across it, to prevent any further access to it by the rioters. The military then passed

through Eighth Street to Broadway, accompanied by the recorder and the sheriff, and turned into Astor Place, to force back the crowd from that side of the theater, the rioters retreating before them until the military had reached to about the center of the Opera-house; when the crowd, either from the pressure behind, or from the determination to resist, remained stationary, and commenced assaulting the military with showers of paving stones and brickbats, by which nearly the whole of the first platoon were injured, and also the colonel commanding, the recorder, and several others. At this moment a pistol was fired from the crowd, which wounded one of the captains, whereupon General Sandford, and General Hall, who accompanied him, called out repeatedly to the crowd to fall back and disperse, or that they would be fired upon; but were answered only by derisive cries, and by the crowd rushing forward upon the military, during which the commanding general was knocked down, together with several soldiers in the front rank, the whole body being forced back toward the Opera-house, followed by continuous showers of stones. At this juncture the order was given to charge bayonets, and the attempt made, but it could not be done, the pressure of the crowd was so close; the muskets of several of the soldiers were forcibly taken from them by some of the more active of the rioters. The commanding officer now apprised the recorder and the sheriff that it would be impossible for the military to maintain themselves without firing, and the sheriff, with whom that discretion was supposed to be lodged, after repeated calls to the rioters, on his part and that of the recorder, to fall back, or that they would be fired upon, and which was received with defiant shouts of "Fire, if you dare!" gave the order to fire. General Hall suggested to fire over the heads of the crowd, which order was given, and the military fired in that manner. It was followed by a shout,

"They have only blank cartridges! Give it to them again!" and another volley of paving stones followed, by which the recorder and several others were struck, and one or two severely injured. The order was then again given to fire, and to fire low, which was done, when exclamations were heard that men had been shot; and for the first time the mob gave way, and the military advanced, driving the rioters before them. The latter rallied again at the corner of Lafayette Place and advanced upon the military, discharging a volley of stones, by which several of the soldiers were hurt severely, when another order was given to fire, which was executed, and proved so effectual that the bulk of the rioters fell back and dispersed, keeping up, however, for some time, an attack upon the military, with stones and brickbats, until the latter, without firing again, got complete possession of the ground, and order was restored. Twenty-three persons were killed upon the spot by the fire of the military, or died afterward of their wounds, and twenty-two were wounded, independent of injuries and severe wounds received from paving stones by many of the police and the military. Many of the killed and wounded were merely spectators, who had taken no part in the riot, or persons who were passing at the time. A woman walking with her husband, in Broadway, was shot dead; a man was killed instantly by a musket ball while stepping from a Harlem railroad car; an eminent merchant was wounded in the neck by a ball while standing in the Bowery, and another person was severely wounded by a shot in St. Mark's Place, two blocks off from the scene of the riot; a Mr. Gedney was shot dead while looking at the riot from the corner of Astor and Lafayette Places, and his own brother was in the platoon by which the volley had been fired.

A very full investigation of the riot was instituted by

the coroner's jury, who found that the persons killed came to their death from gunshot wounds fired by the military, by the order of the civil authorities, and that, in the opinion of the jury, the circumstances that existed at the time justified the authorities in giving the order to fire upon the mob.*

Quite a number of local events, of considerable interest at the time, occurred about this period. Among these may be mentioned the visit of Jenny Lind to the United States; and her first appearance in Castle Garden on the
 1850. 7th of September, 1850; the new municipal regulations imposed by the amended city charter of
 1851. 1849; the Grinnell expedition to the Arctic regions; and the arrival of the Hungarian patriot, Louis Kossuth, on the 5th of December, 1851.

On the 14th of July, 1853, the World's Fair for the exhibition of the industry of all nations was opened at the Crystal Palace, in Reservoir Square, in the
 1853. vicinity of the distributing reservoir of the Croton Aqueduct. "The fairy-like Greek cross of glass bound together with withes of iron, with its graceful dome, its arched naves, and its broad aisles and galleries, filled with choice productions of art and manufactures gathered from the most distant parts of the earth—quaint old armor

* An investigation was also instituted before Hon. John W. Edmonds, presiding justice of the Supreme Court, as a committing magistrate, to inquire into the cause of the riot, by whom it was instigated, aided, or abetted, and, upon the information thus elicited, additional arrests were made. As the recorder, the Hon. Frederick A. Tallmadge, had participated as a magistrate in quelling the riot, his place as presiding judge of the Court of Sessions was filled by the Hon. Charles P. Daly, one of the judges of the New York Court of Common Pleas, at the opening of the June term of the court, 1849.

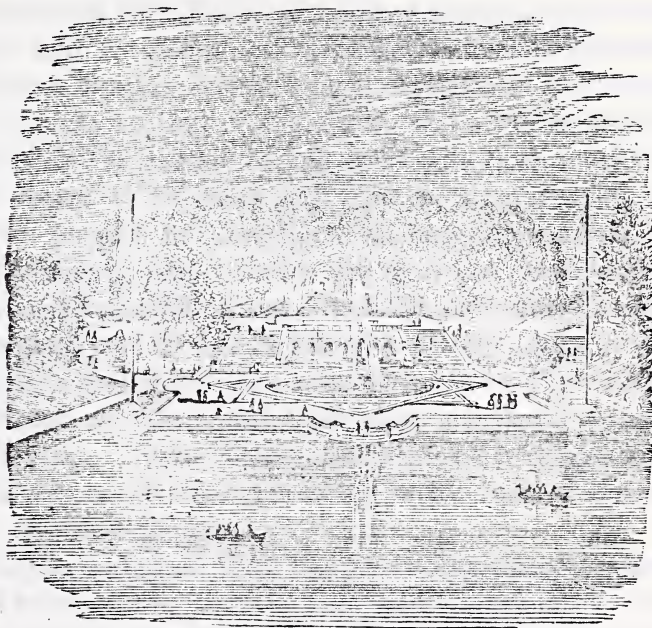
Previous to this riot, it was the general opinion that no one could be prosecuted for a riot, as it was supposed to be the natural effect of political passion. The trial of the Astor Place rioters decided and set at rest forever this question in the affirmative; *vide* the able charge of Chief Justice Daly, in *Judge Edmonds's Select Cases* (not yet published on account of the plates being destroyed by fire)—from which, by the way, this account of the riot is taken.

from the Tower of London, gossamer fabrics from the looms of Cashmere, Sevres china, Gobelin tapestry, Indian curiosities, stuffs, jewelry, musical instruments, carriages and machinery of home and foreign manufacture, Marochetti's colossal equestrian statue of Washington, Kiss's Amazon, Thorwaldsen's Christ and the Apostles, Powers's Greek Slave, and a host of other works of art beside, will long be remembered as the most tasteful ornament that ever graced the metropolis." Beautiful, however, as was this fairy-like palace, it vanished in smoke in the short space of half an hour, on the 5th of October, 1858, and fell, burying the rich collection of the American Institute, then on exhibition within its walls, in a molten mass of ruins.

In the winter of 1855, Canal Street was extended from Centre Street across Baxter to Mulberry Street, at which point it intersected Walker Street. The latter street was at the same time widened twenty-five feet to East Broadway. Park Place and Duane Street were also widened, and the Bowery and Chambers Street extended. 1855.

In 1856, that great lung of the city, the CENTRAL PARK, was, for the first time, thrown open to the public. The project of a large park had long been agitated; and even as far back as the beginning of the present century it was proposed to make the Collect Pond the center of large ornamental grounds. But, with the exception of the small parks scattered here and there, throughout the city, nothing definitely was decided upon until the 23d of July, 1853, when the Legislature authorized the purchase of a portion of the present Central Park, at that time bounded by Fifty-ninth and One-hundred-and-sixth Streets and Fifth and Eighth Avenues, about two and a half miles long by half a mile wide, and comprising nearly seven hundred and seventy-seven acres. On the 17th 1856.

of November of the same year, five commissioners were appointed by the Supreme Court to appraise the land for the Park. They completed their work in the summer of 1855, valuing the land at \$5,398,695; and in February, 1856, the Common Council confirmed their report and made the purchase. The State Arsenal and grounds were shortly afterward added, at a cost of \$275,000. In 1859, the Legislature extended the northern boundary of the Park to One-



THE TERRACE-BRIDGE AND MALL, CENTRAL PARK.

hundred-and-tenth Street, thus including a high hill east of McGowan's Pass, from the top of which a fine view is obtained of the whole island. In 1864, the Park was again enlarged by the addition of Manhattan Square, a rough and uncultivated piece of land, covering a space of nineteen and a half acres, and bounded by Seventy-seventh and Eighty-first Streets and Eighth and Ninth Avenues. The whole area of the Park was thus increased to

eight hundred and sixty-two and fifty-nine one-hundredths acres—more than twice the size of the largest of the London parks, and eight times larger than all the public parks and squares of New York combined.

“The year 1857 was a disastrous one to New York; a year of mob rule; beginning with civil strife and ending with financial ruin. Many defects in the city charter called for remedy, and the growing abuses in the municipal government of New York, proceeding from the ignorant majority that controlled the elections, seemed to demand that certain powers should be transferred from the keeping of the city to that of the State, which was so deeply interested in the welfare of the great American metropolis. It began to be more and more realized that there were two peoples in New York, the property-owners, or *bonâ fide* citizens, who were for the most part respectable, orderly, and law-abiding men; and the poor and illiterate masses, chiefly of foreign birth, who owned scarce a rod of land or a dollar, yet who ruled the city by their votes, and elected to office only such men as would pander to their vices. Nevertheless, the latter class represented and still represents New York city in the eyes of many; a most unjust judgment.

“In the spring of 1857 the State Legislature passed several bills relating to New York, and amended the charter in several important particulars. The charter and State elections, which had hitherto been held on the same day, were separated; the first Tuesday in December being fixed as the date of the former. The Comptroller, as well as the Corporation Council and Mayor, were to be elected by the people. The city was divided into seventeen aldermanic districts, from each of which an Alderman was to be elected by the people once in two years. The Board of Councilmen was composed of six members elected annually from each senatorial district, or twenty-four in

all. The Alms-house and Fire Departments remained unchanged, and the superintendence of the Central Park was given to a Board, to be appointed by the State Government. The most important innovation, however, was the transfer of the Police Department from the city to the State. By the Metropolitan Police Act a police district was created, comprising the counties of New York, Kings, Westchester, and Richmond; and a Board of Commissioners was instituted, to be appointed for five years by the Governor and Senate, to have the sole control of the appointment, trial, and management of the police force, which was not to outnumber two thousand, and to appoint the chief of police and the minor officers. This Board was composed of five members. The Police Commissioners were to secure the peace and protection of the city, to insure quiet at the elections, and to look after the public health. The first members of the Board appointed were Simeon Draper, General James W. Nye and Jacob Chadwell, of New York; James S. T. Stranahan, of Kings County, and James Bowen, of Westchester County—the mayors of New York and Brooklyn being members *ex officio*.

“This was the signal for war. Mayor Wood, who had strenuously opposed the action of the Legislature, announced his determination to test the constitutionality of the law to the uttermost, and to resist its execution; he refused to surrender the police property or to disband the old police; and for some time the city witnessed the curious spectacle of two departments—the Metropolitan Police under the Commissioners, and the Municipal Police under the Mayor—vying for mastery. After exhausting all the resources of the law to evade obedience to the act, the Mayor and municipal government finally caused it to be referred to the Court of Appeals. Before the final decision came, blood was spilled. On the 16th of June

matters were brought to a crisis by the forcible ejection from the City Hall of Daniel D. Conover, who had been appointed Street Commissioner by Governor King, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the former incumbent. The Deputy Commissioner meanwhile claimed his right to hold the office, and a third competitor, Charles Devlin, had been appointed by Mayor Wood, who claimed the appointing power. Mr. Conover immediately obtained a warrant from the Recorder to arrest the Mayor on the charge of inciting a riot, and another from Judge Hoffman for the violence offered him personally; and armed with these documents, and attended by fifty of the Metropolitan Police, returned to the City Hall. Captain Walling, of the police, at first attempted in vain to gain an entrance with one warrant. Mr. Conover followed with the other, but met with no better success. The City Hall was filled with armed policemen, who attacked the new comers, joined by the crowd without. A fierce affray ensued, during which twelve of the policemen were severely wounded. The Seventh Regiment chanced to be passing down Broadway, on its way to take the boat for Boston, whither it had been invited to receive an ovation. It was summoned to the spot, and its presence almost instantly sufficed to quell the riot. Mr. Conover, accompanied by General Sandford, entered the City Hall and served the writ on the Mayor, who, seeing further resistance useless, submitted to arrest. The Seventh Regiment resumed its journey; nevertheless the city continued in a state of intense excitement, and nine regiments were ordered to remain under arms. Their services were not needed, however, and the Metropolitan Police Act being declared constitutional by the Court of Appeals on the first of July, the Mayor seemed disposed to submit, and the disturbance was supposed to be ended.

"The city, however, had become greatly demoralized

by this ferment. Amidst the civil strife of the police, the repression of crime had been neglected. An organized attempt seems to have been made by the ruffians of the city to take advantage of the prevailing demoralization to institute mob rule, in order to rob and plunder under cover thereof. The national holiday afforded an opportunity for this outbreak. On the evening of the 3d of July the disturbance commenced by an altercation between two gangs of rowdies, the one styled the "Dead Rabbits" or "Roach Guard," from the Five Points District, and the other the "Atlantic Guard" or "Bowery Boys," from the Bowery. The next morning the Dead Rabbits attacked their rivals in Bayard Street, near the Bowery. The greatest confusion followed; sticks, stones, and knives were freely used on both sides, and men, women, and children were wounded. A small body of policemen was dispatched to the spot, but it was soon driven off, with several wounded, and the riot went on. The rioters tore up paving stones, and seized drays, trucks, and whatever came first to hand, wherewith to erect barricades; and the streets of New York soon resembled those of Paris in insurrection. The greatest consternation and horror prevailed through the city; the Seventh Regiment, which was still in Boston, was summoned home by telegraph, and several regiments of the city militia were called out; but the riot was not quelled until late in the afternoon, when six men had been killed and over a hundred wounded. There was little fighting the next day until about seven in the evening, when a new disturbance broke out in Centre and Anthony Streets. The militia were summoned to the spot, and dispersed the crowd. Several regiments were ordered to remain under arms, but no other troubles occurred.

"This riot aroused the citizens to the danger of the position, and intensified the prejudice against the Muni-

cial Police, which was accused of abetting the rioters. Vigorous measures were taken to organize the Metropolitan Police and secure its efficiency, in spite of the factious resistance which still existed. The rioters were by no means quieted, however, and on the 13th and 14th of July another outbreak occurred among the Germans of the Seventeenth Ward, who had hitherto held aloof from the disturbance, which had been almost wholly confined to the Irish. The riot continued for two days, but was finally quelled by the police without the assistance of the militia, who were under arms, awaiting the signal for action. The peace of the city was not again disturbed, and the elements of disorder were gradually restrained.

"The scourge of civil war was quickly succeeded by that of financial distress. In the autumn of 1857 a great monetary tempest swept over the United States. For several years the country had been in the full tide of prosperity. Business was flourishing, commerce prosperous, and credit undisputed both at home and abroad; the granaries were overflowing with the yield of a luxuriant harvest, and everything seemed to prophesy a continued era of prosperity. In the midst of the sunshine a thunderbolt fell upon the country. The credit system had been expanded to its utmost limits, and the slightest contraction was sufficient to cause the commercial edifice to totter on its foundation. The first blow fell on the 24th of August, 1857, by the suspension of the Ohio Life and Trust Company, an institution hitherto regarded as above suspicion, for the enormous sum of seven millions of dollars. This was followed by the suspension of the Philadelphia banks, September 25th, 26th, succeeded by the general suspension of the banks of Pennsylvania, Maryland, the District of Columbia, and Rhode Island. An universal panic was the result; the whole community seemed paralyzed by an utter lack of confidence; the credit sys-

tem fell to the ground, carrying with it the fortunes of half the merchants, and business was prostrated. Failure followed failure. A run upon the banks forced the State Legislature to pass an act, October 13th, 14th, authorizing a general suspension of specie payment by the banks for one year. The city banks, however, resumed payment on the 24th of December. The Massachusetts banks suspended payment on the same day. The panic spread through the United States, and thence extended across the ocean, involving the European nations in the general ruin. The manufactories stopped work throughout the country, thus throwing thousands out of employment and reducing them to a state of utter destitution. A state of terrible suffering ensued. Crowds of the unemployed workmen gathered in the Park, clamoring for bread and threatening to procure it at all hazards, while many more, as needy and less demonstrative, perished silently of cold and starvation. For some time serious danger was apprehended from the rioters, who accused the speculators of being at the root of the evil, and threatened to break open the flour and provision stores and distribute the contents among the starving people. Prompt measures were taken by the corporation to alleviate the suffering and provide for the public safety. Many of the unemployed were set to work on the Central Park and other public works, soup-houses were opened throughout the city, and private associations were formed for the relief of the suffering; but this aid failed to reach all, and many perished from sheer starvation, almost within sight of the plentiful harvests at the West, which lay moldering in the granaries for the want of money wherewith to pay the cost of their transportation. Money abounded, yet those who had it dared neither trust it with their neighbor or risk it themselves in any speculative adventure; but, falling into the opposite extreme of distrust, kept

their treasure locked up in hard dollars in their cash-boxes as the only safe place of deposit. As spring advanced, business gradually revived, the manufactories slowly commenced work on a diminished scale, the banks resumed payment one by one, and a moderate degree of confidence was restored; yet it was long before business recovered its wonted vitality. The failures during the year numbered five thousand one hundred and twenty-three, and the liabilities amounted to two hundred and ninety-one millions seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

"In April of the same year the city government resolved to remove the hundred thousand bodies that filled the Potter's Field, or pauper burial-ground, from the city limits to Ward's Island, where seventy acres had been purchased for the purpose. Previous to 1823 the Washington Parade-ground had been devoted to this use, after which the ground now occupied by the distributing reservoir, on the corner of Forty-second Street and Fifth Avenue, was taken for a public cemetery. At the expiration of two years the bodies were removed from both Washington and Reservoir Squares to the new Potter's Field, bounded by Forty-eighth and Fiftieth Streets, and Fourth and Lexington Avenues. This site was granted by the city, in the following year, to the State Woman's Hospital, founded in 1857 by Dr. J. Marion Sims, and subsequently conducted by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, the grandson of the eminent lawyer of that name (whose monument forms one of the prominent features of St. Paul's church-yard), and the grand-nephew of the celebrated Irish patriot."*

During the next few years no events stand out particularly prominent in the city's history. It is true that the destruction of the Quarantine buildings on Staten Island

* Mary Booth's History of New York City.

by the populace in July, 1858, occasioned considerable excitement, but the rioters were soon put down.

1858.

1860. In June, 1860, the city entertained the members of the Japanese Embassy; and in the same summer welcomed successively the Prince de Joinville, Lady Franklin, and the Prince of Wales. In 1861 and 1862, the citizens of New York, almost to a man, and without distinction of party, rose grandly to sustain the Union; but, in 1863, the enviable reputation thus gained was sadly tarnished by an event to which, on account of its importance, the next chapter will be devoted.

CHAPTER XI.

THE year 1863, as hinted in the last chapter, was marked by an event which, as has been justly remarked, was the most humiliating of any ever recorded in the annals of New York. The national victories of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, while they gladdened the hearts of loyal citizens, only exasperated the disloyal portion of the community, and urged them to desperate measures. An opportunity for such a course was soon found when the draft, in accordance with a proclamation, issued by the President of the United States on the eighth of May, was begun in the Eastern and Middle States, early in July. This process for obtaining soldiers, however necessary, was known to be distasteful to American citizens, and more or less resistance to its execution was anticipated, but, greatly to the surprise of all, and much, perhaps, to the disappointment of some, the draft was begun and completed in a considerable portion of the country without exciting any violent opposition. There were, indeed, everywhere, from those liable to suffer from its effects, expressions of dissatisfaction, though a general resignation to its necessity.

Even in New York, on the first day of the draft, Saturday, July 11th, there was hardly any manifestation of public discontent. The drawing in the Twentieth Ward

took place, under the guard of a strong police force, at the office of the provost marshal, No. 677 Third Avenue, beginning at nine o'clock in the morning and ending at four in the afternoon. A large crowd assembled in the neighborhood and exhibited great interest in the result, but no desire to interfere with the process. "Everything then went on as quietly as possible during the entire day. The people seemed to take it in more of a jocular than a serious mood, as a smile flitted frequently across the countenances of several. When some familiar name was announced, there was an ejaculation of 'How are you, Brady?' or 'How are you, Jones?' Then there were jocular tokens of sympathy, such as 'Good-by, Patrick,' or 'Good-by, James,' when the drawn name happened to have either of these Christian prefixes to the same."

Such was the prelude, comical in its extremes of good humor, which preceded the tragic week of civic anarchy. During the Sunday which succeeded the first day of the draft, there was evidently great agitation among the poorer inhabitants of the city, who, gathering about the streets in throngs, angrily denounced a compulsory system for obtaining soldiers, that seemed to bear most heavily upon the class to which they belonged. On Monday morning, July 13th, the draft of the Ninth District was resumed. At nine o'clock the doors of the provost marshal's office were thrown open, when a large crowd immediately thronged in. The drawing commenced at half-past ten o'clock. Some fifty or sixty names had been taken from the wheel and announced, when, on the announcement of Z. Shay, 633 West Forty-second Street, a stone was dashed through the window. This was taken as the signal for a general attack by the populace on the outside, which had been gathering since the opening of the day, and now numbered several thousands.

"During the early part of the morning," reports a

journalist,* "the people of the Ninth District, consisting of a large number of respectable workmen and others, were seen to assemble at certain specified spots, and between eight and nine o'clock began moving along the various avenues west of Fifth Avenue, toward their appointed place of general meeting. A large number of workmen's wives, etc., began also to assemble along the various avenues; and, if anything, were more excited than the men, who were armed with sticks, stones, adzes, axes, saws, and some with even old swords. As the assembled people moved along they stopped at the different workshops and factories, and a deputation entered the various buildings to inform their proprietors that they would not be answerable for the safety of their premises unless the same were closed and their men allowed to join them if they so desired. In most cases the request was complied with at once, and the assemblage moved on. They next arrived at their specified meeting place, on an open lot near the Park, and by their concerted action it was evident that there had been some degree of organization in their movements. Having arranged their plans to their satisfaction, they began to move down town again, by way of Fifth and Sixth Avenues, until they reached the vicinity of Forty-sixth and Forty-seventh Streets, along which they proceeded in an easterly direction. When they arrived at Fourth Avenue, along which the New Haven and Harlem Railroad tracks run, one of the principals of the assembled people caught sight of the telegraph wires and poles. It was at once suggested that the authorities might telegraph to Albany for troops. Scarcely were the words uttered when the axes were laid at the feet of the telegraph poles, and down they came. That part of the wires that could not be thus destroyed

* New York Herald.

was divided by means of men climbing the poles and throwing slings, stones, etc., until the wires were severed and rendered completely useless. Another branch wire, leading from the railroad to Third Avenue, and that along Third Avenue, were similarly damaged, and then the crowd again moved on to the provost marshal's office."

On the first stone being thrown through the window, the mob on the outside rushed into the building. After having dashed the wheel into pieces, torn into shreds the draft list, and destroyed the furniture of the office, they emptied out a can of turpentine, and setting fire to it, the whole house was soon in flames. The fire extended to three adjoining buildings, as the mob, overpowering the police, would not allow the firemen to extinguish it, and exulted with loud shouts at the conflagration.

The crowd, still increasing in numbers and becoming more excited, now turned to go to the arsenal, where, in the meantime, a detachment of regulars from Governor's Island had arrived and were prepared to defend the building. A small force of only about forty soldiers, being a part of the provost guard, having been sent up from the Park to awe the rioters, came into collision with them in the Third Avenue, near Forty-second Street, and fired, killing and wounding several persons. This, instead of intimidating, aroused the fury of the people, who attacked the soldiers and forced them to fly. As they fled they threw away their muskets, which were seized by their pursuers and used against them. One being overtaken, was "beaten almost into jelly, and fainting from loss of blood and exhaustion, was thrown into an alley-way and left to take care of himself as best he might." Others were seized and mangled to death. In Forty-second Street, a policeman on duty having fired into the crowd and unfortunately killed a woman, was set upon with sticks and stones, and after being thus

cruelly mauled, was shot in the back. The rioters, in the course of their morning's havoc, burnt the Bull's Head Hotel in Forty-third Street and the Colored Orphan Asylum in Fifth Avenue, and tore up a portion of the New Haven Railroad track. In the afternoon they resumed their work of destruction, and after killing and wounding half a dozen of its defenders, destroyed a depot of fire-arms at the corner of Second Avenue and Twenty-first Street, and burned two private houses in Lexington Avenue, in their rage at the escape of a policeman who had sought refuge in one of them. The draft in the Eighth District, including the Twenty-second Ward, was, notwithstanding the disorder in other parts of the city, persisted in until twelve o'clock, when it was suspended. About four o'clock in the afternoon the mob attacked the enrolling office, No. 1190 Broadway, second door from the corner of Twenty-ninth Street, and after rifling it and the neighboring shops, burnt them to the ground. In other parts of the city there were also riotous manifestations, and some acts of violence. A crowd thronging about the *Tribune* office broke the windows and tore down the doors. Demonstrations were also made against the residences of Mayor Opdyke and others.

The civic and military authorities seemed perplexed how to act. The usual proclamations and orders were issued by the Mayor and the commanders of the United States troops and militia, but nothing effective was done toward re-establishing order in the city and rescuing it from the ruthless sway of the mob. It is true that, in consequence of the call of the President for troops to resist the invasion of the enemy, New York had been deprived of most of its armed defenders,* still, with

* An idea of the deserted state of the lower and business part of the city during the riot may be gathered from this fact. At two o'clock on the after-

unanimity of action and timely precaution, it would not have been difficult to organize the orderly citizens into efficient conservators of the peace.

On the second day, Tuesday, July 13th, the rioters, their audacity heightened by impunity, and their lust of blood and plunder increased by previous license, recommenced their work of rapine and murder. The Governor of the State came to the rescue of the helpless city with a proclamation :

“TO THE PEOPLE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK—A riotous demonstration in your city, originating in opposition to the conscription of soldiers for the military service of the United States, has swelled into vast proportions, directing its fury against the property and lives of peaceful citizens. I know that many of those who have participated in these proceedings would not have allowed themselves to be carried to such extremes of violence and of wrong, except under an apprehension of injustice; but such persons are reminded that the only opposition to the conscription which can be allowed is an appeal to the courts.

“The right of every citizen to make such an appeal will be maintained, and the decision of the court must be respected and obeyed by rulers and people alike. No other course is consistent with the maintenance of the laws, the peace and order of the city, and the safety of its inhabitants.

“Riotous proceedings must and shall be put down. The laws of the State of New York must be enforced, its peace and order maintained, and the lives and property of all its citizens protected at any and every hazard. The

noon of Monday, the first day of the riot, the writer turned into Broadway from Grand Street, and as far as he could see up and down Broadway, he discovered but one solitary individual.

rights of every citizen will be properly guarded and defended by the Chief Magistrate of the State.

"I do therefore call upon all persons engaged in these riotous proceedings to retire to their homes and employments; declaring to them that, unless they do so at once, I shall use all the power necessary to restore the peace and order of the city. I also call upon all well-disposed persons not enrolled for the preservation of order to pursue their ordinary avocations.

"Let all citizens stand firmly by the constituted authorities, sustaining law and order in the city, and ready to answer any such demand as circumstances may render necessary for me to make upon their services, and they may rely upon a rigid enforcement of the laws of this State against all who violate them.

"HORATIO SEYMOUR, *Governor*.

"NEW YORK, July 14th, 1863."

The rioters gave little heed to words however persuasively uttered, and in spite of the Governor's proclamation, continued to glut their instincts of rapine and cruelty. The State, civic, and military authorities (both Federal and State), the navy, Governor Seymour, Mayor Opdyke, the Police Commissioners, Generals Wool, Brown, and Sandford, co-operated in efforts to protect the city, but found that the forces at their command were barely sufficient to guard the public property. The Custom-house, the Sub-treasury buildings, and arsenals were filled with marines and sailors, the approaches and entrances were covered by cannon, and the halls lined with howitzers from the Navy Yard. The ship-yards, gas-works, and public institutions were guarded by the few militia left in the city, and gun-boats anchored in the East and North Rivers, with their broadsides menacing Wall and other streets, which were thought to be especially exposed to attack. Notwith-

standing these precautions, and the suspension of the draft, which was supposed to have provoked the popular violence, the mob, on the second day of the riot, continued to rage almost without check. The city, thus at the mercy of robbers and murderers, wore an air of gloom and despair. Business was arrested, the stores and shops were closed, and the promenades deserted. The well-dressed women, the fashionable loungers, and the dashing equipages were absent from the streets; and the occupant of every house barricaded his windows and doors, and armed himself with such weapons as he could procure.

Though the whole city was more or less the scene of violence, the most tragic incidents occurred in the Second and Third Avenues and neighboring streets. "Early in the morning," wrote a reporter,* "there might be seen several hundreds of people congregated at each of the corners in the vicinity of Thirty-fourth Street and up to Forty-sixth. There seemed to be no great excitement pervading the masses of persons who were here assembled, but a settled and gloomy quiet hung over their every movement. All canvassed the exciting events which had transpired the day previous with a good deal of sober calmness, and no demonstration of any description took place which might be construed as an outbreak.

"Numbers were armed, but no attack upon person or locality seemed to be determined upon. Several of their friends addressed them, and they listened with comparative quiet. Father Clowrey, the Catholic priest of that district, spoke to them, and requested that they would go to their homes and keep quiet. This advice from the venerated clergyman seemed to be regarded with a good deal of interest, and the crowd, for a few moments, seemed to be deeply impressed with what was

* *New York Herald.*

so feelingly said to them. There appeared to be a general disposition to keep quiet at this moment, and several turned into the adjacent streets, as if to wend their way homeward. Father Clowrey, however, soon went away, and the crowd commenced to clamor and use emphatic gesticulations once more. Propositions were made by several to proceed to different localities and break open premises. But these suggestions seemed to meet with opposition. Some one of the multitude remarked that the police and military were coming up the avenue, as on Monday, and, like a flash of electricity, the whole crowd were moved with the most tremendous excitement, and daring epithets were freely indulged in. 'Let them come on, and we will meet them like men!' were the outcries which were now raised. The crowd rushed into several houses, and took therefrom every article which might in any way be converted into a weapon. Women also armed themselves with whatever they could lay hold of, expressing themselves in the strongest language, both of encouragement to their friends and relatives, and disdain for those who were coming up to disperse them. The crowd was at this time congregated between Thirty-fourth and Thirty-seventh Streets in the Second Avenue, and accessions to their ranks were flocking in from all directions. There was not a single laborer in that locality who did not leave his employment and join the mass, until it must certainly have numbered some ten thousand persons in all. The sight at this time was certainly of a nature to excite fear in the stoutest heart. There was not much clamor or noise of any description, but a settled and determined appearance was the peculiar characteristic of each individual.- All seemed imbued with one idea, that of 'resistance,' and no matter what obstacle came in their path, they seemed ready to encounter it.

"At about ten o'clock in the morning a body of troops,

about four hundred in all, accompanied by a number of police, marched leisurely up Third Avenue. The military were composed of Company H, of the Twelfth regiment, under command of Captain Franklin; and about fifty of the Eleventh regiment New York Volunteers, under the command of Colonel H. F. O'Brien. They brought with them two small field-pieces. There were also about four hundred police on the march, led by Deputy Superintendent Carpenter and Sergeant Copeland. They were well armed, and carried their clubs in a firm grasp, as if determined to do their part of the work.

"On arriving at the corner of Thirty-fourth Street and Third Avenue, the entire force marched down the street into the avenue, the military passing up some few minutes before. There was no opposition whatever offered to the military as they filed past; but as soon as the police made their appearance the fight commenced, and in earnest. A shower of bricks came down upon their heads from all directions, and a hand-to-hand encounter immediately followed. The police rushed into the various houses on the route, and, hurrying up stairs, used their clubs against any person, young or old, whom they met. In those encounters it is impossible here to state how many were killed and wounded; but there must certainly have been upward of ten or fifteen clubbed to death.

"This assault did a great deal to excite the people to the highest pitch, and they now fought and acted like men who did not care what they did, or what was the consequence of their acts. The police fought well, but in some cases they acted in a manner calculated to incite the people to increased violence. Several were clubbed to death in their own houses, and the stairs, rooms, and hallways covered with blood, while the furniture, glasses, &c., were broken to pieces. The police evidently got the best of it in this encounter, and succeeded to a great extent in

putting down the disturbance, which was fast spreading from street to street. The police, as they came from the houses after inflicting summary punishment upon all who came in their way, formed again in the streets. Here they took up the line of march, and were proceeding to another vicinity, when a second attack took place; and now the real work commenced.

"There were two howitzers placed in position, supporting which were two companies of the Eleventh New York State Volunteers, under command of Colonel O'Brien, who was on horseback. The military were formed on Second' Avenue, at the corner of Thirty-fourth Street, with the crowd on either side of them and a few in front, none expressing the slightest trepidation at the dangerous position in which they were placed. Bricks flew like hail-stones among the soldiers. Colonel O'Brien rode up and down in the center, and then gave the command 'Fire!' to those who had charge of the howitzers. Some allege that these pieces were loaded with grape and canister; but however this may be, there were several seen to fall at this time. The two companies of infantry of the Eleventh regiment, which were under the immediate command of Colonel O'Brien, also opened a fire of Minie bullets and committed some havoc among the crowd, which was firmly massed together at this point. Several fell upon the sidewalks and in the middle of the street, and were carried into various houses, where their wounds were attended to.

"The action of Colonel O'Brien, as described by several who were within hearing distance of him during the whole time, is thus described from the commencement of the conflict. He urged on the soldiers to fire into and attack the people in all manner of ways. How true this is cannot be determined; but the fate which he met with is probably one of the most horrible that the present gen-

eration ever witnessed. Colonel O'Brien, as has already been stated, was on horseback, and had the entire command of the military, and it was by his orders that they fired.

"A most heart-rending occurrence took place during this fight. Colonel O'Brien held a revolver in his hand, and was riding up and down between either line of the crowd. He, as it is stated, fired his revolver into their midst, the ball killing a woman and child, which she held in her arms. After several rounds had been fired the people began to disperse, and the police proceeded to another part of the city. Colonel O'Brien and his command, however, remained. The Colonel dismounted from his horse and walked into a drug store.

"Had he taken his departure at this time, there is little doubt that his life would have been saved. Colonel O'Brien stayed in the drug store for some few minutes; it is thought that he went in to get some refreshments. The crowd were around the door at this time. There was scarcely a word spoken, but the lowering glances of a thousand men looked down in vengeful spirit upon him as he stood in the door. He then drew his sword, and with the revolver in the other hand, walked out on the sidewalk in the very center of the crowd. He was immediately surrounded, and one of the men came behind, and, striking him a heavy blow on the back of the head, staggered him. The crowd then immediately surrounded and beat him in a most shocking manner. His almost inanimate body was taken up in the strong arms of the crowd and hurried to the first lamp-post, where it was strung up by a rope. After a few minutes the body was taken down, he being still alive, and thrown, like so much rubbish, into the street. The body lay in the middle of the street, within a few yards of the corner of Thirty-fourth Street. Nature shudders at the appalling scenes which here took

place. The body was mutilated in such a manner that it was utterly impossible to recognize it. The head was nearly one mass of gore, and the clothes saturated with blood. A crowd of some three hundred persons surrounded the prostrate figure. These men looked upon the terrible sight with the greatest coolness, and some even smiled at the gory object. Our reporter walked leisurely among the crowd which surrounded the body, and gazed upon the extended mass of flesh which was once the corpulent form of Colonel H. F. O'Brien. Notwithstanding the fearful process which the soldier had gone through, he was yet breathing. The eyes were closed, but there was a very apparent twitching of the eyelids, while the lips were now and again convulsed, as if in the most intense agony. After lying for about an hour in this position, several of the crowd took hold of the body by the legs and dragged it from one side of the street to the other. This operation was gone through with several times, when the crowd again left the body lying in its original position.

"Had Colonel O'Brien been a man of weak constitution, he would certainly have ceased to exist long before this time. He was, however, a man of great natural strength, and this fact probably kept him breathing longer than would any common person. The crowd remarked this, and watched his every slightest movement with the most intense anxiety. Now and then the head would be raised from the ground, while an application of a foot from one of the crowd would dash the already mangled mass again to the earth. This conduct was carried on for some time; and when our reporter left the body was still lying in the street, the last spark of existence evidently having taken its flight.

"Probably the worst feature of the affray in this neighborhood was the death of the two or three unfortunate women who happened to be on the ground at the

time. One woman's life was saved by the timely services of Dr. E. D. Connery, who extracted a ball from her person. This gentleman's valuable services were brought into requisition in other places where a number of parties had been wounded. These events, of course, inflamed the other women of that ward, and they turned out in large force to aid their relatives and friends when any opportunity should occur.

"At four o'clock everything was comparatively quiet where the real fighting had taken place. An immense crowd, however, still remained. They were not congregated in one solid mass, but were assembled in groups, a few yards apart, of about two hundred each. There was no boisterous discussion. The people conversed in tones of studied ease, and did not make any remarks of a blood-thirsty nature. Every brow had its frown, every lip was compressed, some cheeks were blanched—not with fear, but with intense anger. There was not a word uttered counseling cessation, but a vigorous prosecution of the work in which they were engaged was urged. Each house of business was closed, and private dwellings had their doors and windows properly barred and locked. Darkness was rapidly stealing on, but the crowd still lingered."

The negroes of the city were the especial object of the fury of the mob. Their houses were sacked and burned, and they themselves hunted out, tracked, seized upon and murdered. These poor creatures became so terror-stricken, that those who were able skulked out of the city, and those who were left hid away, and did not venture to show themselves in the light of day.

It was clear, whatever may have been the original motive of the rioters, that it had now degenerated into a lust for blood and plunder. Houses and shops were broken into for no other purpose than to steal their valuable contents. Thus, a throng of men, women, and chil-

dren sacked the clothing store in Catherine Street, of Brooks Brothers, who were not in any respect objects of political odium.

The second day of the riot closed with unabated gloom, and was followed by a night of wakeful anxiety, for the constant tolling of the fire-bells, telling of repeated house-burnings, foreboded a general conflagration.

On the next day, the third of the riot, Wednesday, July 15th, the mob still held the city in its cruel sway. The suspension of the draft was officially announced. Governor Seymour proclaimed the city and county of New York to be in a state of insurrection. Mayor Opdyke hopefully declared that the riot had "been in a good measure subjected to the control of the public authorities," and invited the citizens to form voluntary associations to patrol and guard the districts in which they lived, against the "fragments of the mob prowling about for plunder," and to save "the military and police from the exhaustion of continued movements." He further declared, that "the various lines of omnibuses, railways, and telegraphs must be put in full operation immediately," and promised "that adequate military protection against their further interruption would be furnished on application to the military authorities of the State."

The Roman Catholic Archbishop Hughes addressed his flock, saying:

"In spite of Mr. Greeley's assault upon the Irish, in the present disturbed condition of the city, I will appeal not only to them, but to all persons who love God and revere the holy Catholic religion which they profess, to respect also the laws of man and the peace of society, to retire to their homes with as little delay as possible, and disconnect themselves from the seemingly deliberate intention to disturb the peace and social rights of the citizens of New York. If they are Catholics, or of such

of them as are Catholics, I ask, for God's sake—for the sake of their holy religion—for my own sake, if they have any respect for the Episcopal authority—to dissolve their bad associations with reckless men, who have little regard either for divine or human laws."

The aldermen of New York unanimously voted an ordinance by which \$2,500,000 were appropriated to relieve those who might be drafted for compulsory service.

The city still wore the gloom of the previous days. "General commerce," said a journalist, "appeared to stand still. Storekeepers, in neighborhoods where a multitude of people sacked dwellings, anticipated further attacks. In the principal streets the shutters were kept up, and the proprietors kept their doors ajar, in order to suddenly close them in case of danger. There were few, if any, jewelers' marts open. The precious gems, gold, and trinkets were prudently deemed too costly a temptation to be exposed to apprehended seizure."

The riot still raged. Crowds of excited people gathered in the districts which had been the scenes of violence, and while in all they threatened to resume them, in some they actually did so with increased fury. The Arsenal in the Seventh Avenue, the constant object of the popular menace, had been placed in a state of military defense. Mountain howitzers, brass field-pieces, and picket-guards commanded the approaches, and a body of troops, under Major-General Sandford, encamped within the inclosure and occupied the neighboring streets. Close to the military line, a large crowd gathered from an early hour in the morning and threatened an attack.

"About eight o'clock the first engagement," reported a journalist,* "took place in this part of the city between

* *New York Herald.*

the military and the people. News was received that a large crowd had congregated in the neighborhood of Eighth Avenue and Thirty-second Street. The crowd numbered between four thousand and five thousand men. They had been collected in that vicinity for some time, apparently in doubt where to move. A negro unfortunately made his appearance, when one of the men called him an opprobrious name. The negro made a similar rejoinder, and after a few words the indiscreet colored man pulled out a pistol and shot the man. With one simultaneous yell the crowd rushed on him. He was lifted high in the air by fifty stalwart arms and then dashed forcibly on the pavement. Kicks were administered by all who could get near enough. Some men then took hold of him by the legs and battered his head several times on the pavement. Life was now nearly extinct, and a rope called for. The desired article was in a moment produced, and the black man's body was soon after suspended from a neighboring lamp-post. The passions of the people were now fully aroused, and an assault was made on the neighboring houses to search for negroes. A scene of this kind soon degenerated into one of indiscriminate destruction. Word was passed along to fire the houses and burn the niggers out. At this time the military, consisting of a strong detachment of infantry and one twelve-pounder mountain howitzer, arrived on the ground, under command of Colonel Winslow. The people were too intent on the work of destruction to heed their arrival. The howitzer was unlimbered, and poured a deadly charge of canister into the crowd. Signs of resistance were evinced, and an evident determination to wrest the gun from the hands of the artillerists. The infantry received the order to fire, and again a shower of bullets thinned the crowd. No symptoms were evinced of their retiring, and the howitzer again thundered forth a deadly

discharge of canister. The fire was by this time too hot for the crowd to withstand, and with shrieks and yells they commenced to scatter in all directions. During the whole time the military had been under a strong fire of stones, brickbats, pistol and gun shots, not only from the crowd in their front, but from the housetops. The crowd dispersing, orders were given to the soldiers to return. After cutting down the body of the negro the military commenced to fall slowly back. The crowd at once re-assembled and closed up in their rear. Four separate times, before the crowd would desist from the pursuit, was the order given to the infantry to fire. After considerable difficulty Colonel Winslow and his command returned to the Arsenal, after having successfully carried out the orders they had received.

"Shortly before twelve o'clock, Colonel Magee was ordered to proceed to Thirty-fourth Street, near Sixth Avenue, to rescue eighteen colored men who were momentarily in danger of being assaulted by the people. The Colonel went off with four men, and succeeded in bringing the darkeys to the Arsenal. Nobody hurt.

"During the morning the crowd on Seventh Avenue and Thirty-fourth Street increased in numbers and boldness. The pressure from the rear forced those in front to press too closely on the pickets, who were in momentary danger of being surrounded and deprived of their arms. Brickbats, stones, and occasionally pistol and gun shots were fired at the troops. When the advance was witnessed from the Arsenal, the howitzers were planted to sweep the avenue. A detachment of the One Hundred and Seventy-eighth New York Volunteers, under command of Captain Gandolfo, and Lieutenants Meding and Blackmire, were ordered out to charge on the people. On reaching the crowd a volley was fired over their heads, and a general stampede was the result.

"About one o'clock another disturbance took place in Thirty-third Street, between Sixth and Seventh Avenues. A large crowd had assembled and commenced sacking some of the houses in that vicinity. Captain Doles, of General Hunter's staff, who had volunteered his services, was ordered to proceed to the scene of the disturbance with a detachment of the Twentieth New York Artillery, armed with rifles. The crowd dispersed on the appearance of the military, who then had orders to right-about-face and return to quarters. The people then commenced to hoot them. A shower of brickbats, stones, and other missiles were fired at them. In the *melee* a number of negroes rushed by to take refuge in one of the houses. This sight maddened the crowd, and a rush was made to intercept the darkeys. Captain Doles ordered his men to fire a volley into them, which was done; but the crowd still pressed on; the soldiers became enraged at their persistence, and, without waiting for orders, another volley was fired. This was an unfortunate occurrence, as one of the shots wounded a fireman who was at the time busily engaged in cleaning some hose.

"About two o'clock information was received at the Arsenal that a large number of muskets were secreted in a store on Broadway, above Thirty-third Street. Colonel William Meyer was ordered to proceed to the spot, with a detachment of thirty-three men belonging to Hawkins's Zouaves, for the purpose of seizing the arms to prevent their falling into the hands of the people. Colonel Meyer conducted his command through Thirty-fifth Street, across Sixth Avenue, thence to Broadway and Thirty-second Street. The premises were entered, and, in spite of a large and constantly increasing crowd, the arms were brought out. An Irishman, passing at the time with his cart, was pressed into the service, and obliged, much against his will, to convey them to the Arsenal. The

people followed the cart and its escort for some distance; but no forcible demonstration took place. The party returned to the Arsenal after an absence of about forty minutes, and reported the successful conclusion of their mission.

"Many times during the day a scattering fire was heard from the pickets. The troops then sprang to arms, while the volunteer citizens were placed in position to support the artillery. The guns were wheeled round to command the threatened point, and everything seemed to indicate an immediate and desperate attack. In most instances, however, the demonstration was quelled by the discharge of a volley into the air, when the crowd, which in many instances was largely composed of women and children, instantly disappeared after firing a few stones at the soldiers.

"At five o'clock Colonel Sherwood's battery of rifled six-pounders and a strong force of infantry, under command of Colonel Meyer, were ordered to the corner of Twenty-seventh Street and Seventh Avenue, to quell a serious disturbance which had broken out at that point. On arriving there, they found the people busily engaged in rifling and gutting the stores and private houses. Flames were issuing from the windows, and the scene resembled closely many similar ones which our citizens during the last few days have been called to look on. Suspended from a lamp-post was the body of a black man who had been hung up a few minutes before. The firemen made their appearance on the ground at the same time as the military. The people who had been engaged in the work of destruction retired behind the firemen, thus placing a barrier of our brave firemen between themselves and the military. It was this circumstance only which prevented the discharge of the rifled field-pieces. From the housetops the usual salute of brickbats and stones

was showered down on the military. Several citizens stepped up to Colonel Meyer and informed him that men were stationed on the housetops, with rifles in their hands, ready to fire on his men. The Colonel thereupon ordered his men to keep a sharp lookout, and if any shots were fired from the housetops, to deliver a volley instantly. At this time Judge McCunn appeared on the scene, and entreated the Colonel 'to spare those innocent people.' The Judge informed the Colonel that he had, by authority from Governor Seymour, been using his influence to quell the disturbance. Colonel Meyer replied that he, as a military man, had but to obey orders, and if the people attempted to advance or fire on his men, he should certainly order it to be returned by a volley. The infantry and artillery then slowly retired, and had hardly reached the Arsenal ere the disturbance broke out with renewed violence, and word was brought to General Sandford that two more negroes were dangling in mid air from the lamp-posts.

"The pickets brought in a large number of prisoners, dirty, ragged, and bloody in appearance, but sullen and determined in demeanor.

"The colored folks in the Twentieth Ward suffered very severely. Numberless were the atrocities perpetrated on them. They were hunted from their houses by the score. When caught, they were hung up to lamp-posts, or beaten, jumped on, kicked, and struck with iron bars and heavy wooden clubs. At one time there were between fifty and sixty of these people in the Arsenal. Many of them were horribly maimed and disfigured. No respect had been paid either to sex, age, or condition. One woman was burned out of her house who had only been confined on Tuesday. * * * Many affecting scenes took place between different members of the same family who had given each other up as lost, and met unexpectedly in the Arsenal. One poor fellow had been obliged to run for

- his life, and in about an hour his wife arrived in deep distress; but when she saw her 'old man' alive and all right, except a ghastly wound on the head, her joy was boundless, and could find no better vent for it than by flinging her arms around her husband's neck."

"Between seven and eight o'clock P. M.," says a newspaper reporter, "about one hundred soldiers, dressed in citizens' clothes and accompanied by a portion of Hawkins's Zouaves, who were in uniform, with one field-piece, marched up the First Avenue. The crowd, at the time, were congregated in the street, corner Nineteenth Street, not doing anything very obnoxious. While the soldiers were orderly marching along, all at once the military were fired upon by some man of the crowd in the rear. The soldiers turned and killed the man who had fired.

Thursday, July 16th, opened more cheerfully. Several of the militia regiments which had been absent on service had returned to the city, and its inhabitants felt more confident of security. The mob, though somewhat awed by the arrival of fresh troops, was still defiant and occasionally resisted the soldiers, who, however, succeeded, after several severe encounters in which many lives were lost, in establishing their ascendancy.

On Friday, the 17th day of July, Mayor Opdyke proclaimed:

"The riotous assemblages have been dispersed. Business is running in its usual channels. The various lines of omnibuses, railway, and telegraph have resumed their ordinary operations. Few symptoms of disorder remain, except in a small district in the eastern part of the city, comprising a part of the Eighteenth and Twenty-first Wards. The police is everywhere alert. A sufficient military force is now here to suppress any illegal movement, however formidable."

The Federal Government, in the meantime, had pre-

pared to vindicate its contemned authority. Major-General Dix was relieved of his command at Fortress Monroe and ordered to New York, as commander of the Department of the East in place of General Wool, and General Brown was superseded by General Canby in the command of the United States troops in the city and harbor. A large force was, at the same time, ordered to New York, and soon some thirty thousand Federal soldiers occupied the city and neighborhood, when public halls were turned into barracks and parks into camping-grounds. With its authority thus fortified, the Government disclaimed all responsibility for the suspension of the draft, and declared its determination to prosecute it. The civic authorities, too, became less disposed to conciliate the violations of the law, and Mayor Opdyke vetoed the aldermanic ordinance. The supervisors of the State and county, however, made a compromise by voting a large sum to relieve the families of conscripts and to pay bounties to volunteers. The President of the United States, after a disputation correspondence with the Governor of New York, agreed to modify the quotas, but refused to postpone the draft until a decision might be obtained in regard to its legality. The draft accordingly took place in New York during the month of August, without the least attempt to resist it.

The exact number of persons killed in this riot is not known. The police estimated it in round numbers at over one thousand. The mob and the negro population were naturally the greatest sufferers, the losses of the military and police force being comparatively slight. The city subsequently paid about one million five hundred thousand dollars as an indemnity for the losses sustained during the riot.*

* The greater portion of the account of this riot has been derived from *The War with the South* (published by Virtue & Yorston), which, in turn, was mostly taken from the accounts of newspaper reporters who were on the spot, and in most instances eye-witnesses of the incidents they describe.

This is the history of the DRAFT RIOT so far as can be ascertained, for in all probability its secret history, as well as the real instigators who, from behind the curtain, pulled the wires, will never transpire. But a foul blot upon the fair escutcheon of New York must ever remain the "Draft Riot"—a riot which differs in every particular from those which have been narrated in preceding pages. Unlike the "Negro Riot," the city was in no apparent danger from the torch of the incendiary; unlike the "Doctors' Riot," the graves of relatives had not been despoiled; unlike the "Election Riot," the excitement of a political canvass could not be pleaded in extenuation; unlike the "Flour" and the "Bread Riots," people were not clamoring for bread; unlike the "Stone-cutters' Riot," no trade or interest was threatened by supposed destruction; unlike the "Five Points" and the "Astor Place Riots," the pride of nationality was not touched; unlike the "Police Riot," there was no prospect of persons being thrown out of employment; unlike the "Quarantine Riot," there was no fear that the seeds of a dire contagion would be scattered over a community. The "Draft Riot" was in no respect like any of these, but was gotten up simply to gratify shameful, wanton, and wicked passions, and ended in a crusade against an inoffensive race who had done their murderers no harm. Utterly unprovoked, and without the shadow of excuse or palliation, the "Draft Riot" stands out, and shall forever stand out, black and hideous in the city's history.

CHAPTER XII.

THE year 1865 was marked by the substitution of a paid for a volunteer Fire Department. The history of this branch of municipal organization, from the time of its origin in the early Dutch period up to the present day, is replete with so much interest that it has been deemed best to wait until the present year before considering it as a whole.*

In 1662, an incident occurred of no ordinary importance. This was the importation by New York city of two fire-engines from London. There was no subject upon which, at that time, the inhabitants of the city felt a deeper interest than the most effectual means of extinguishing fires; for the loss of property by conflagrations was a calamity to which the city, from its first settlement, had been peculiarly exposed. The ground upon which it was originally built was very irregular. Great inequal-

* The exceedingly interesting account of the origin and history of the Fire Department, to which the present chapter is devoted, is taken from Chief-Justice Daly's address delivered in 1871, and entitled *The Origin and History of the New York Fire Department*. This address has never been printed; and I cannot sufficiently thank Judge Daly for his kindness in allowing me the use of it for this work. Without this chapter the history of the city would be very incomplete. This address also contains such a vast amount of classical and curious information in regard to the fires in ancient times, and the mode of extinguishing them, that it is to be hoped that the author will allow it to be published in pamphlet form. The address is given *verbatim*.

ity of surface was produced by hills or elevated ground, the communication between which was interrupted by natural obstructions; for when the water did not find its way through the valley in streams, it collected between the elevated ground in numerous places, in ponds and marshes. These difficulties presented formidable obstacles even to the hardy race that founded the city, so that little effort was made at the outset to level it.

The houses were at first huddled together in close proximity to the fort which had been built near the site of the present Battery, for the common protection, and were afterward distributed here and there, as the interest and convenience of each proprietor dictated. As the settlement grew larger, and streets and lanes became requisite to facilitate communication, they were necessarily narrow, crowded, and short, with but two exceptions,—the Hooghe Straat (the present Pearl Street), which ran along the water, and the Heere Straat (the present Broadway), which, following the ridge of an ascending hill, extended in a straight line from the Fort to the City Wall, or Wall Street. A city so irregularly distributed, from the difficulties of its natural situation, presented numerous obstructions to that ready communication and rapid action which are so necessary in a time of fire; in addition to which, the houses, for many years, were built exclusively of wood, the roofs were thatched with reeds or straw, and the chimneys were also of wood. Exposed during the long heat of the summer to the action of the sun, they ignited quickly and burned rapidly; while, during the winter, the cold at that period was usually so intense that it was necessary to keep huge logs blazing in the great open Dutch fire-place, which carried up through the wooden chimney a large volume of heat, making it in time exceedingly combustible; so that the catching on fire of a chimney, or the burning-down of a building, or of many, was a very

ordinary occurrence.* The means for extinguishing fire, moreover, were very inadequate. There was no want of water. The little settlement was surrounded on three sides by the bay, the East and North Rivers; and a stream deep enough for market-boats to ascend, extended through the middle of it, flowing in from the bay up through the center of the present Broad Street as far as Exchange Place; in addition to which there was generally a well or cistern in the garden of each house.

But, though water was abundant, the transportation of it quickly and in sufficient quantity was no easy matter. It had to be carried by hand; and as it was many years before any public regulation was established to secure a prompt supply of it in such emergencies, it may be imagined a scene of confusion must have ensued when tubs, pails, or other means of conveying water had to be hastily improvised to stay the progress of a fire. To remedy this, measures were taken in 1648. Four firewardens were appointed by Governor Stuyvesant and his council, whose duty it was declared to be to prevent all accidents by fire; to visit all around, and see that every one kept his chimney clean by sweeping; and, in case any one was found to be deficient, to demand immediately a penalty of three guilders—about \$1.30; and the ordinance further declared that if any house was burned through the carelessness of the occupant, he was to be subjected to a fine of thirty guilders—about \$11; from which fines a fund was to be created for the purchase of leather buckets and hooks and ladders in Holland.

It might naturally be supposed that a sense of common danger would have made every inhabitant vigilant to guard against the occurrence of such calamities, and that a regulation of this nature would have met with very general approval. But our Dutch ancestors were pro-

* *Vide* account of the "Negro Plot" in the first part of this work.

verbially slow. They were exceedingly averse to any change which interfered with their personal habits, or settled mode of conducting their affairs; and, when such changes were sought to be brought about by the instrumentality of law or ordinances, they were very intractable and difficult to manage.

Householders did not co-operate with the authorities in giving effect to a regulation so manifestly essential to the public safety. On the contrary, the firewardens experienced the greatest difficulty in performing the duty of inspecting chimneys, the Dutch housewives being especially belligerent and abusive. The records of the Court of Burgomasters and Schepens aver that Magdalen Dircks was brought before it; and it was proved, by her own confession, that, as she passed the house of Firewarden Litschoe, then the principal tavern-keeper, and a very considerable personage, she and her sister called out, as that important individual stood in his own doorway, "There is the chimney-sweep;" and the worshipful court gave it as its judgment that such things could not or ought not to be tolerated, and fined Magdalen two pounds Flemish. But it was not confined to the women. Even a man of law, Solomon La Chair, afterward a notary and a very prominent official, was brought before the court for abusing the firewardens by calling them chimney-sweepers. "It is not seemly," says the court, "that men should mock and scoff at those appointed to any office—yea, *especially* to such a necessary office;" and Solomon was accordingly mulcted.

But it was not, it seems, even in the power of the court to uphold the firewardens. So many indignities were heaped upon them that the office became undesirable, its duties were gradually relaxed, and the ordinance fell into neglect.

As these four firewardens were the pioneers in the

important duty of saving the city from conflagrations, it may be well to mention who they were. The first, Martin Krieger, kept a famous tavern immediately opposite to the Bowling Green, during the early part of the Dutch period. He was afterward, when a municipal government was established, one of the two first Burgomasters; was subsequently a member of Governor Stuyvesant's council; and, down to the capture of the city by the English, he filled many important offices. The next, Thomas Hall, was an Englishman, who had been taken prisoner by the Dutch, and, being released upon parole, concluded to remain in New Amsterdam, where, in course of time, he became a man of wealth and influence, filling many public stations. He was the owner of a large farm in the vicinity of Spruce and Beekman Streets, which afterward passed into the hands of William Beekman, the ancestor of the Beekman family. The third, Adrian Wyser, was at first one of the officials of the Company by whom New Netherland was founded, and afterward a member of the Executive Council. The last, George Woolsey, was an Englishman, who came here and became the agent of Isaac Allerton, one of the principal Dutch traders, and who afterward became the proprietor of a plantation in Flushing.

It has been stated that the ordinance which led to the appointment of these four firewardens fell into disuse; and, as a consequence of the neglect of the precautionary measures it was designed to enforce, the number of fires greatly increased. At length, in 1657, after nine years had gone by, another ordinance was resorted to, the preamble of which discloses the perilous condition of things, by the passage that "fires were apprehended, even to the entire destruction of the city." The authorities were now earnestly aroused. Energetic measures were adopted. All thatched roofs and wooden chimneys were ordered to be

taken down within four months, under a penalty of twenty-five guilders (\$10) for every month's delay; but so difficult was it even then to enforce this indispensable regulation, that the execution of it was postponed—first for four months, then for a year, and afterward for ten years. The difficulty of complying with it was, in fact, very great. There was a want of material for the covering of roofs, and the getting-out of stone for the chimneys was a laborious and troublesome process. Bricks and tiles were first imported from Holland in 1659, no doubt in consequence of this very ordinance. In the previous year, 1658, the subject of being prepared for the occurrence of fire was also taken into consideration, and it was decreed that for every house, whether large or small, one beaver, or its equivalent, eight guilders (\$3), should be paid, to raise a sum of money to procure from the fatherland one hundred and fifty leather fire-buckets, and for the making of some fire-ladders and fire-hooks. The preamble to this ordinance sets forth that it is customary, in all well-regulated cities, to have fire-buckets, ladders, and hooks in readiness at the corners of streets, and in public-houses, in time of need; and that it was then especially necessary in New Amsterdam, as the houses were chiefly of wood, there being but a small number built of stone. But the raising of money then by tax was a very slow process. It probably came in so tardily that the project of sending to the fatherland was given up hopelessly, for the all-sufficient reason that the Amsterdam merchants were not in the habit of fulfilling the orders of the little municipality which bore the name of their city on the other side of the Atlantic, unless they had some better assurance for payment than its promises. The hooks and ladders were made in the city, and were distributed about in different places; but the most essential things of all, the leather buckets, were wanting. The Worshipful

Court of Burgomasters and Schepens now bestirred themselves. The shoemakers of the city, who were then seven in number, were summoned to meet the city authorities on the 1st of August, 1658, to consider the grave question of the possibility of making the buckets in the city. Four of them attended. The first one to whom it was proposed declined the arduous undertaking. The second declared that he had no material. The third ventured to make one hundred for six guilders two stivers a piece, or about \$2.50; and the fourth was brought to engage to make the remaining fifty upon the same terms. Six months further passed, when at *last*, on the 20th of January, 1658, the one hundred and fifty buckets were brought to the Stadt House, or City Hall, which then stood upon Pearl Street, facing Coenties Slip; and being regularly numbered, the first fifty were deposited in the City Hall, and the remaining portion were divided in lots of ten and twelve, and placed at the residences of nine of the principal inhabitants.

The next step was the establishment of public wells—a measure dictated not only by a regard for the public safety in time of fire, but also for the public health. Before the completion of that great work, the Croton Aqueduct, the water required for domestic purposes was probably worse than that of any other city of equal extent in the world. That obtained from the wells of individual proprietors, which were the chief source of supply for the first forty-four years, was so bad that even horses refused to drink it. In the year now under consideration, the first public well was dug in front of the Fort, upon the site of a natural spring; and affording, as it did, a supply of comparatively wholesome water, it became a great resort of the inhabitants during the remaining period of the Dutch occupation.

This year (1658) and the preceding one were especially

distinguished by energetic measures for the improvement of the city. The Dutch burghers were now in reality aroused. In addition to these precautionary measures for the extinguishment of fires, a rattle watch was established, consisting of eight men, the duty being imposed upon each of the citizens in turn. The city was surveyed and regulated. Streets were for the first time paved with stone—one of them, Stone Street, still retaining the name that was then given to it. With the exception of Stone Street, the pavement extended only to the width of ten feet from the front of the houses, the center of the street being left without pavement, for the more easy absorption of the water, as there were no sewers. Names were also given to many of the streets; and, in 1660, a brick-yard was established in the vicinity of the present Park; and though the enterprise was not profitable to its projectors, it led to the use of brick in the construction of houses. And the progress must have been very rapid; for Denton, who visited the city ten years afterward, in 1670, records the fact that the houses were then mostly of brick or stone, covered with red and black tiles, giving to the city, he says, "a pleasing aspect, when seen from an elevated height."

This active movement for the improvement of the city was, no doubt, to be attributed to the fact that the inhabitants had obtained from the States-General in Holland, four years previously, what they had long petitioned for,—a municipal government, and with it the enjoyment of those local privileges to which they had been accustomed in the cities, towns, and villages of their fatherland; or, to express it in different words, the inestimable right of local self-government. They had been ruled exclusively before this by a governor and by a council selected by him, who administered affairs with special reference to the interest of a trading corporation

in Amsterdam, by whom New Netherland was founded as a commercial speculation; and though the inhabitants were nominally under the protection of the Dutch Government, they were so far away that they were completely subject to the will of governors, who were at times capricious, in some instances grossly incompetent, and generally arbitrary. Such a government was not in harmony with the interest of the individual citizen. It retarded progress by taking away all desire for it; and when the inhabitants were released from its restraint by the establishment of a municipal body, elected by themselves, which was alike a court of justice and a representative council clothed with the power of municipal government, the effect was speedily felt in the active movement and public spirit which dictated the improvements to which allusion has been made.*

The English appear to have been particularly vigilant in the adoption of precautionary measures against fires, and it would seem that there was every reason for them to be so. When they repossessed themselves of the city, in 1674, it contained three hundred and twenty-two houses; and eight years after, the number is put down at two hundred and two,—a diminution which cannot be accounted for in any other way than by the frequent occurrence of conflagrations.† One of their first

* For an account of the judiciary in the Dutch period, written by Judge C. P. Daly, see Appendix VII.

† In the early part of the Middle Ages, the dwellings of the common people in most countries of Europe were of timber; and, from this cause and the want of efficient means to extinguish conflagrations, fires were of frequent occurrence, and were among the most dreaded of calamities. There are records of the destruction of whole towns, the efforts of the inhabitants being utterly powerless to arrest the progress of the flames. This condition of things gave rise to a custom which prevailed throughout Europe, and in many countries was enforced by law, by which, at the ringing of a bell at sunset in summer and eight o'clock in winter, all the inhabitants of a city, town, burgh, or village, raked the fire together upon the hearth, and put over it a brass cover, of a shape adapted to the purpose, which was called a *curfew*. The bell tolled for a quar-

public measures of this description, in 1677, three years subsequent to the re-occupation, was to order the construction of six public wells,—the principal part of the expense of which was imposed upon the inhabitants of the streets where they were severally located. This is the earliest measure recorded for assessing the cost of public improvements upon the owners of growing property,—a policy which has ever since been adhered to, though the fairness or justice of it may be questioned. In 1687, seven additional public wells were ordered to be made in different streets. Eight pounds was contributed by the city for each well. The residue of the expense was imposed upon those found to be chiefly benefited by its establishment in their vicinity; and they were debarred from the use of it until they had paid their proportionate part. These wells were placed in the middle of the street, and the water was raised by the old Egyptian method of a balance-pole and bucket, a mode still in use in many parts of the country. All these were known by popular names, as *De Remiers* well, *Janson* well, *De Kay*

ter of an hour, to admonish every one that the time had come to put on the curfew, to extinguish the lights in each household, and for all to retire to rest. It was called the "curfew bell," and at the sound of it every occupation ceased, and all merriment was hushed: there was a solemn seriousness about it that recommended it as a fitting image to the poets. There are frequent references to it in Chaucer and in Shakespeare, and all will remember the opening line of Gray's celebrated Elegy,

"The curfew tolls the knell of parting day."

The poets made use of it legitimately; but it is a curious fact that English historians, and even legal writers, ignorant of its origin, and the fact that it was simply a precautionary regulation against fire, have perpetuated the belief that in England it was a badge of tyranny imposed, after the Conquest, by the Normans upon the Saxons, to make them feel the extent of their subjugation. Even so celebrated a writer as Blackstone, after declaring that England at this period was governed under as absolute a slavery as it was in the power of a warlike and ambitious prince to impose, enumerates as one of the proofs of it, that in cities and towns all company was obliged to disperse, and fire and candle had to be extinguished at eight at night, at the sound of the melancholy curfew; whereas the custom, or regulation, had existed long previously, in Saxon times, and has been traced up to the days of Alfred.—*Judge Daly's Address.*

well, &c.; and the water procured from most of them would in this day be regarded as very bad. Kalm, a Swedish traveler and naturalist, who visited the city in 1748, seventy years afterward, says: "There is no good water to be met with in the town; but a little way out there is a spring of good water, which the inhabitants take for their tea and kitchen purposes. Those, however, who are less delicate upon this point make use of the water from the wells in the town, although it is very bad. The want of good water bears heavily upon the horses of strangers who come into the town, for the animals do not like to drink the water obtained from the wells." The spring of good water to which Kalm refers, was the famous tea-water pump, a little west of the present line of Chatham Street, opposite Roosevelt Street, which was still in use forty years ago, standing in the middle of a large grocery-store,—all who dealt with the grocer having free access to it, and others, it is presumed, for a pecuniary consideration. In fact, down to the time of the completion of the Croton Aqueduct, the water-vender was one of the features of the city. With a hogshead mounted upon a cart, he traversed the streets, morning and afternoon, supplying his customers with pure and wholesome water at a small charge per pail.

Another important measure was introduced by the English in 1658, during the period of their first occupation, which was the lighting of the city by night; and, as the method adopted was a very primitive one, it is here given in the language of the ordinance: "Every seventh house in all the streets shall, in the dark time of the morn, cause a lantern and candle to be hung out on a pole, the charge to be defrayed equally by the inhabitants of the said seven houses;" and upon very dark nights every inhabitant was required to have a lighted candle in his window.

Another of these measures was the employment of a

regular night-watch, composed of men who were paid for their services by the city, instead of imposing that duty, as the Dutch had done, upon all the citizens in turn. The watch was set at nine o'clock in the evening (when the city-gates were shut and locked), and was kept up until day-break. It was maintained, however, only during the winter months—that is, from the beginning of November to the end of March, that being the period when the greatest danger from fire was apprehended. At the ringing of the bell of the Fort at nine o'clock, a sergeant-major, with his halberd, proceeded, followed by the watch, to each of the city-gates, which he locked for the night. He then stationed each man at his particular post, and, to secure the vigilant discharge of his duty, each watchman was required to go, once every hour, through that part of the city which was allotted to him, and with a bell to proclaim the time of the night and the state of the weather,—a regulation which, no doubt, secured a vigilant discharge of the watchman's duty. But it must have been somewhat disturbing to all but sound sleepers to have had their slumbers broken at regular intervals by the loud ringing of a bell and a hoarse voice announcing such information as, "Past two o'clock, and a dark, cloudy morning." This practice was borrowed from Germany. In the German burghs or towns, it was at first the custom to station their guardians of the night in the steeples of churches or other elevated places; and, as a security against their going asleep, to require them every hour to proclaim the time of the night. When this was changed to a regular patrolling of the streets, the custom of calling the hour was continued probably for the same reason; but, among the musical people, this duty was relieved by a very poetical feature, for the German watchman accompanied the calling of the time of the night by singing the verse of a song inculcating some precept of the Christian religion, the

words of which were so arranged or varied as to adapt it to the particular time of the night. A translation of a verse of one of these watchmen's songs is here presented as a specimen:

"Hark ye, neighbors, and hear me tell
Ten now strikes on the belfry bell.
Ten were the holy commandments given
To man below, by God in heaven.
Human watch from harm can't ward us;
Yet God will watch and guide and guard us.
May he, through his heavenly might,
Give us all a blessed night."

But, notwithstanding these precautionary measures, the want of efficient means for extinguishing fire was severely felt; and a stringent ordinance, passed in 1686, records the fact of their frequent occurrence, and of the great damage done from the lack of efficient means to arrest a fire after it broke out. This ordinance enacted that every house having two chimneys should be provided with a fire-bucket, and that those having more than two fire-places should have two buckets. This, however, did not suffice; and it was enacted, in 1696, that every tenant, under a penalty, should procure the necessary number of buckets, and deduct the cost of them from the rent. The practice of having every house supplied with fire-buckets now became general, and was continued long after the introduction of fire-engines. If a fire broke out at night, the watchman gave the alarm with his rattle, and knocked at the doors of the houses, with the cry, "Throw out our buckets;" the alarm being further spread by the ringing of the bell at the Fort, and by the bells in the steeples of the different churches. When the inmates of a house were aroused, the first act was to throw out the buckets into the street, which were of sole-leather, holding about three gallons, and were always hung in the passage close to the door. They were picked up by those who were

hastening to the fire, it being the general custom for nearly every householder to hurry to the fire, whether by day or by night, and render his assistance. As soon as possible, two lines were formed from the fire to the nearest well or pump; and when that gave out, the line was carried to the next one, or to the river. The one line passed up the full buckets, and the empty ones were passed down the other. No one was permitted to break through these lines; and if any one attempted to do so, and would not fall in, a bucket of water, or several, were instantly thrown over him. Each bucket was marked with the name or number of the owner; and, when the fire was over, they were all collected together, and taken in a cart belonging to the City Hall. A city bellman then went round, to announce that they were ready for delivery, when each householder sent for his buckets, and hung them up in the allotted place, ready for the next emergency.

In 1677, the city contained three hundred and sixty-eight houses. In 1693, the number was estimated at five hundred and ninety-four. In 1696, it was put down as seven hundred and fifty; and when the two fire-engines arrived from London, in 1731, the population of the city, by an enumeration made that year, was 8,628; and it must have contained 1,200 houses. Up to that time, there was no means for extinguishing fires except the conveying of water to it in buckets, and the use of ladders and fire-hooks. The buildings, however, were not very high. Originally, they were chiefly of one story; and few at this time exceeded two—the first three-story house, which is still standing in Pearl Street, opposite Cedar Street, having been built by a member of the De Peyster family about the year 1690.

It seems to us at the present day a very simple matter for the corporation to have ordered two fire-engines from London; but it was a momentous affair in 1731. In the

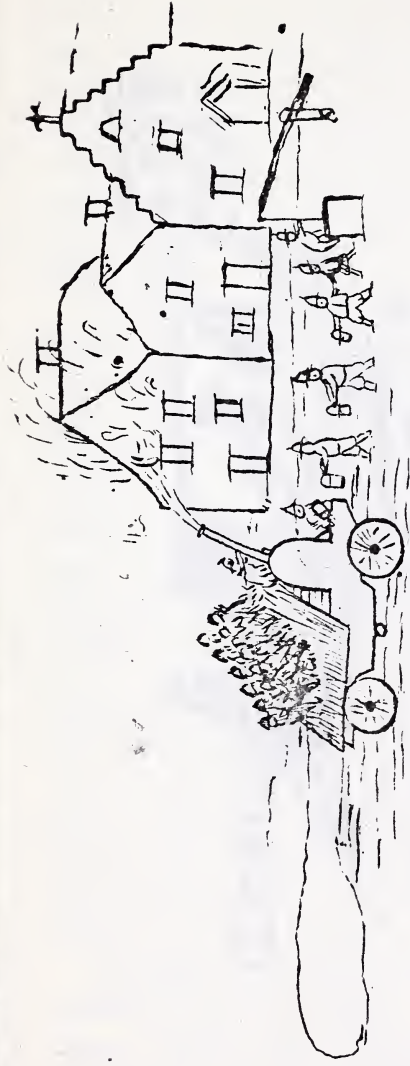
first instance, an act of the provincial legislature had to be passed to enable the city to raise money for the term of three years to purchase the engines. This having been done, the Common Council, on the 6th of May, 1731, resolved to purchase, in the language of the record, "two complete fire-engines, with suction leather-pipes and caps, and all materials thereunto belonging, for the public service, to be the fourth and sixth series of Mr. Newsham's fire-engines." A committee of three aldermen was appointed to carry out the resolution; and they contracted with two merchants, Stephen Delancey and John Moore, then the principal mercantile firm of the city, to import at the rate of one hundred and twenty per cent. on the foot of the invoice, exclusive of commission and insurance, the money to be paid within nine months after the delivery; which shows that the merchants of that day knew how to charge for their advances, especially when the city was the paymaster.

Thomas Newsham, the person from whom the two engines were to be forwarded, was then one of two nail-makers in London, the other being a maker named Foroke. Each of them claimed to have surpassed all others in the construction of what is termed in their advertisement, "constantly steamed engines." Newsham, however, was the more successful, and vanquished his competitor. He had invented nothing new, for all the essential properties of the fire-engine had then been discovered, and the superiority of his machine consisted simply in the ingenious mechanical adaptation of principles already known. In form it resembled the machine in use when engines were worked by hand. Indeed, Newsham's engine, with very little modification, continued in use in London down to 1832, and in this city after that period. The old engine which Colonel Myers has secured to be preserved in this city as a relic is Newsham's engine; and in form and

structure it is in no respect different from the kind made by him in 1740. He made two kinds. One of this structure, and another called a Treddle, the treddle being a platform placed above the body of the machine, upon which twelve men could stand, six abreast, who, by treading alternately on each side of the fulcrum of the lever, imparted to it the requisite ascending and descending motion. This treddle-engine, Newsham claimed, had thrown a stream of water over the Royal Exchange, in London, to an elevation of one hundred and sixty-five feet, in the presence of many thousand spectators; and being the one of the greatest power, it was the kind ordered by the corporation of New York.

Ewbank, a competent authority in hydraulics, says that Newsham was certainly mistaken; that the height of the jet from his engine could not have been more than fifty feet; and that Ewbank is right, is to be inferred from the fact, that, when Trinity Church was on fire in 1753, the stream from the engines did not reach the steeple, which had ignited in several places. "We observed with universal terror," says a writer in a newspaper of the day, "that the engine would scarce deliver the water to the top of the roof," a height of about sixty feet; "and we want," says this writer, "at least one engine of the largest size, which will throw water one hundred and seventy-five feet high, discharging two hundred gallons in a minute, to cost about sixty-five pounds sterling;" indicating by this passage that there were then (1753) engines of that power.

The two engines arrived in December, 1731. A room was fitted up for them in what was then the New City Hall, at the corner of Nassau and Wall Streets. A committee of two aldermen was appointed to have them cleaned and put in order for use, and immediate use was soon found for them. A paragraph in the *Boston Weekly*



This is a fair copie of y^e Cowen arrived
from London and now in y^e City Hall
7 feet wide on y^e board. and 9 feet on
works poole. 73 feet long in y^e whole.
manned by 12 tugmen eleven bucket
men and 1 putre man

(In the year 1730.)



This is a true picture of V. J. no. 100 Engon (in the year 1730.)

W. J. no. 100 Engon

W. J. no. 100 Engon

Newsletter of January 6th, 1732, gives, under the head of news from New York, an account of a fire which occurred in the city on the 7th of December preceding. It is in these words: "Last night, about 12 o'clock, a fire broke out in a joyner's house in the city. It began in the garret, where the people were all asleep, and burnt violently, but by the aid of the two fire-engines, which came from London in the ship *Beaver*, the fire was extinguished, after having burnt down the house and damaged the next."

Some person, little apprehending that it would descend as a memorial to our day, made a rough pen-and-ink sketch of one of these engines, which, though rude and badly drawn, is sufficient to indicate its structure, and the manner in which it was worked. The sketch, having been put in the hands of a mechanical draughtsman, he has skillfully reproduced it in a proper drawing, which will convey an exact representation of what may possibly have been the first fire-engine in America. By the resolution of the Common Council, the engine was to be complete, with suction-pipe and all materials thereunto belonging. The suction-pipe was then known, and both Newsham and Foroke state in their advertisements that their engines feed themselves "with a sucking pipe;" but, if we judge by this pen-and-ink sketch, these engines had no suction-pipe, or the use of it had been given up, as persons are represented in the act of passing buckets of water by hand to supply the engine.

Beneath this pen-and-ink sketch is the following description of the drawing: "This is a fair copie of ye ingen, arrived from London, and now in ye City Hall, seven feete wide on ye board and nine feete on workepoole, thirteen feete long in ye whole, manned by twelve tug-men, eleven bucket-men, and one pipe-man."

The experience of the fire of the 7th of December

had doubtless pointed out the necessity of putting them in charge of some competent and skillful person; and accordingly, on the 21st of January following, the Mayor and four aldermen were appointed a committee to employ workmen to put them in good order, and to engage persons by the year "to keep them in repair, and to work them when necessary." Anthony Lamb was accordingly appointed "overseer," or, as the office was afterward called, chief-engineer, at a salary of £12 a year; and he and the persons employed by the year under him may be said to have been the first regularly organized Fire Department.*

The room fitted up for these two engines in the City Hall would seem not to have been sufficiently commodious; and accordingly, in 1736, the Corporation ordered a convenient house to be built, "contiguous to the watch-house in Broad Street, for their security and well-keeping." This building, the first engine-house in the city, was in the middle of Broad Street, half-way between Wall Street and Exchange Place. The watch-house stood at the head of Broad Street; and immediately behind it, in the middle of the street, this engine-house was built, as appears from an indication of it upon a map of the city in 1742, made by David Grim.

Lamb held the office of chief-engineer until 1736, when he was succeeded by Jacob Turk, a gunsmith, who appears to have been an ingenious man; for, in the year

* Anthony Lamb was an Englishman, who had come to the city and established himself in business as a mathematical-instrument maker and general worker in wood, ivory, and brass. He kept for many years a well-known establishment at the sign of the Quadrant and Surveying Compass, in the vicinity of Old Slip, where he fabricated, repaired, and sold surveying and nautical instruments, and many other things, and at the same time practiced as an oculist, from which combined occupation he realized a substantial fortune. He was the father of General Lamb, of Revolutionary memory, one of the principal leaders in the formation of the Sons of Liberty in 1776.—*Judge Daly's Address.*

after his appointment, the city voted him £10 to enable him to complete a small fire-engine which he was making as an experiment. In this, however, it seems, he was not alone; for one William Lindsay advertises in the *New York Gazette*, May 9th, 1737, a fire-engine made by him, which, he says in his advertisement, will deliver two hogsheads of water, in a continuous stream, in a minute.

The voluntary Fire Department was established in the city in 1738, under an act of the Colonial Legislature, and lasted for one hundred and twenty-seven years. A high compliment, and one that was, no doubt, deserved, was paid to the city in the preamble to this colonial act, in these words—"The inhabitants of the City of New York, of all degrees, have very justly acquired the reputation of being singularly and remarkably famous for their diligence and services in cases of fire;" and it was, no doubt, this fact which led to the institution of the voluntary system. This act empowered the Corporation to appoint a certain number of freemen, or freeholders, not to exceed forty-two, to be selected in equal proportion from the six different wards of the city, who were to be known thereafter by the designation of "The Firemen of the City of New York," who, in consideration of their voluntary service, were to be exempt from serving as constables, surveyors, or jurors, or in the militia, except in case of invasion or other imminent danger. This statute was passed in 1737, and in the following year the Corporation selected five firemen from each ward, or thirty in all, and passed an ordinance for their regulation, or government. The firemen, divided into companies, chose their own foreman, assistant, and clerk, from their own number. The firewardens wore a hat, the brim of which was black, the crown white. The city arms were blazoned on its front. They also carried a speaking-trumpet, painted white, with "Warden," in black letters.

When a building took fire in the night, notice was immediately given by the watchmen to the members of the Corporation, firewardens, and bell-ringers. They also called out "Fire," and the inhabitants placed lighted candles in their windows to aid the engines in their passage through the streets. Watchmen neglecting their duties were liable to a fine of one hundred dollars. When a chimney took fire the occupant of the house was fined five dollars. The same fine was imposed upon carpenters who did not carefully remove their shavings at the end of every day's work. A person using a lighted lamp or candle in a store-house, unless secured in a lantern, forfeited ten dollars. Jacob Turk became the head of this new organization; and that he was an efficient superintendent, or chief-engineer, may be inferred from the fact that he continued in the office for twenty-five years. Among other things, he introduced the well-known leather cap worn by the firemen to the present day.

Turk was succeeded in 1761 by Jacobus Stoutenbergh, who was, like Turk, a gunsmith. He was one of the thirty firemen originally appointed in 1738, and he continued to be chief-engineer down to the time of the Revolution. When he was appointed, in 1761, the city had largely increased, and, in consequence, the force in the following year (1762) was augmented to two assistants and sixty men. After the breaking-out of the Revolution, it was converted into a military organization, consisting of two battalions, commanded by Stoutenbergh, and was composed of one adjutant, one captain, five lieutenants, and one hundred and thirty-four men. It retired, necessarily, as a part of the military, with the retreat of the American army from the city in 1776; and the extent of the ravages of the dreadful conflagration which followed immediately after the entrance of the British troops was mainly owing to the want of firemen in the city.

The Fire Department was reorganized after the Revolution; and, in 1793, the Legislature granted an act of incorporation by which the firemen of the city were "constituted and declared to be a body politic in fact and in the name of the Fire Department." This was the origin of the system nearly seventy years ago. This act continued until April, 1810, and was renewed from time to time until the Common Council appointed a "chief-engineer, with a salary of eight hundred dollars per annum," to whom was confided the sole control of this department. He reported twice a year to the Common Council the condition of the engines, buckets, houses, and apparatus. He also reported all fires and their accidents, with the number of buildings destroyed or injured, the names of the sufferers, with the probable cause of the burning, &c. The firewardens were also appointed by the Common Council, but none were eligible until they had served as firemen five years. They acted as overseers at all fires; and, during the months of June and December, examined all fire-places, chimneys, stoves, ovens, and boilers, and, if found defective, ordered the owners to repair them; and if neglected, a fine of twenty-five dollars was imposed. They also examined all buildings; and would often order hemp, hay, gunpowder, and other combustible articles to be removed to safe places, under a penalty of ten dollars. The Fire Department then consisted of twenty engines, two hook-and-ladder companies, twenty-two foremen, thirteen assistants, and three hundred and eighteen men; and, in 1825, Mr. Cox, the chief-engineer, reported forty-two engines in good order, five hook-and-ladder trucks, and one hose-wagon, with 10,256 feet of good hose: also, two hundred and fifty-five buckets, and twenty-eight ladders and thirty hooks. The total number of men belonging to the Fire Department was 1,347.

The voluntary system was, upon its introduction, a most desirable one, and continued to be so for more than three quarters of a century. For alacrity, intrepidity, skill, and courage, the men who composed it would compare with any body of firemen in the world. At its institution and for many years it consisted almost exclusively of the most influential and prominent citizens, who discharged their arduous labors at a great sacrifice of time, and frequently of health, from a high sense of public duty; and the example they set infused into the whole community a zeal and willingness to lend their aid and assistance upon the breaking-out of a fire, almost without precedent in the history of cities. The effect upon the rising generation was especially marked, and the young were made to feel that to be a fireman was an honorable and enviable distinction. For a long while, "No. 5," on Fulton Street, and "14," near St. Paul's Church, were considered the "crack companies" of the city,—the first to reach a fire and among the last to leave it; and many a race they had. But in course of time this was changed, and the effect of the institution upon the young was as injurious as it had been formerly beneficial. The body grew large and formidable. It became a power, and resisted for many years every attempt to introduce new and improved methods for the extinguishment of fires. Steam fire-engines were introduced in London in 1832, with a marked increase of efficiency and economy; but it took nearly thirty years before they could be introduced in New York. Horses had long been used in London to transport the engines more quickly; but the voluntary firemen of New York persisted in the habit of dragging their engines to the fire by hand to the last, thereby diminishing their alacrity and lessening their physical strength. When the city was embraced within moderate limits, the occasional duty of acting as a fireman was not a very

onerous one; but, when the city was expanded miles in extent, it exacted an amount of time which few were able to give who had their own business to attend to; and, consequently, this class was gradually withdrawn from the department, which was filled by those who could give more time to it. The increasing extension of the city demanded, moreover, a constant augmentation of the force of the department; and, as it increased in numbers, it degenerated in quality. The engine-houses became loitering-places for the idle and the young, and at which the latter learned little except to become rude in speech and imperious in manner. Thus was brought forth and fostered a character very closely resembling the *gamin* of Paris, familiarly known as the "b'hoy," who seems now to be disappearing with the causes that produced him. The rivalry between companies engendered animosities; and street brawls among the firemen at a fire, occasionally expanding into street riots, in which free use was made of the brickbat and the paving-stone, were not of unusual occurrence until the system had reached the point when grave men propounded the inquiry of how to get rid of it. The remedy was found in substituting for it a body of picked men, permanently engaged and regularly paid for their services, and by the general introduction of steam fire-engines, or, as they are called, "steamers." This was effected in 1865, by the creation and chartering by the Legislature of the present Metropolitan Fire Department, with Charles E. Pinckney president, and that fine old fireman, Philip W. Engs, treasurer. The consequence of it has been increased efficiency in the extinguishment of fires, a large diminution in the number of men requisite for that purpose, and an entire cessation of the demoralizing influences to which reference has been already made. In 1863, the voluntary department consisted of 4,122 men. The present department (1871)

1865.

consists of 599 men, or about one seventh of the former force.

The new act allows twelve steam fire-engines and hook-and-ladder companies,—the engines to have one foreman, one assistant, an engineer, stoker, driver, with seven firemen. Of the hook-and-ladders, each one has a foreman, one assistant, a driver, and nine firemen. Their pay is fixed at \$3,000 *per annum* to the chief-engineer; assistant, \$2,000; district engineer, \$1,500; foreman, \$1,100; assistant, \$900; engineer of steam-engine, \$1,080; stokers, drivers, and firemen, \$840 each, superintendent of telegraph, \$1,800; telegraph-operators, \$1,000 each; battery boy, \$500; line-man, \$1,000; and bell-ringers, each \$800. The department are uniformed, and the number of their engines has increased to fifty-six, and the hook-and-ladders to twenty-five.

How different the Fire Department now from the one of former years, when men were the horses to drag the ropes of the machine, and their strong arms the *motive* power to work them! Now we have in their places horses to pull the engines, and the mighty giant, steam, to force the water upon the raging fiery element. Still, the little old-fashioned hand fire-engines did wonderful service in their day; and, indeed, the noble bearing, bravery, endurance, and success of our New York firemen had a world-wide fame.*

* In Appendix No. VIII. will be found an interesting letter from Colonel T. Bailey Myers to the author, giving an account of the Firemen's Lyceum, organized by him, as Trustee, for the use of the Department, and as a means for the improvement of the men.

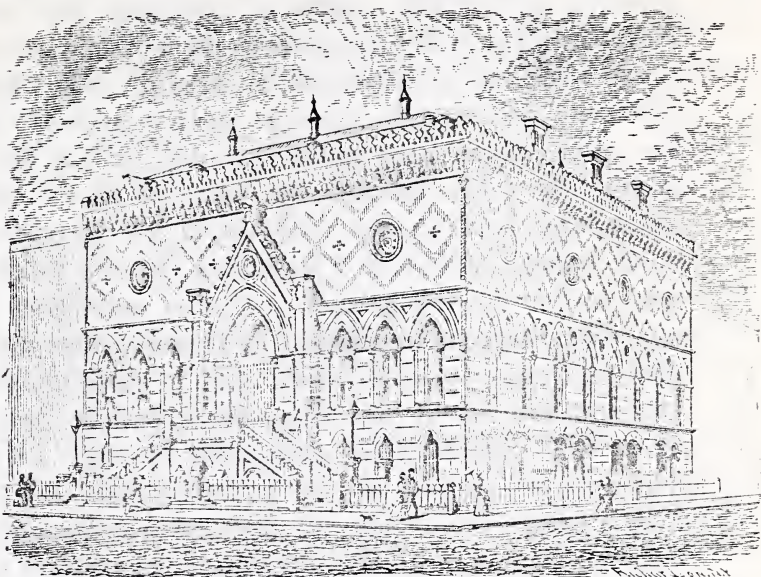
CHAPTER XIII.

PREVIOUS to the year 1802 no special effort had been made to establish an institution for art in the city. In that year, however, the idea of a "New York Academy of Fine Arts" was first mooted, which, in 1808, culminated in one being chartered under the name of the "American Academy of Arts;" Robert R. Livingston, president; John Trumbull, vice-president; and De Witt Clinton, secretary—Trumbull being the only artist. "The first exhibition was held in Greenwich Street, near Morris, in a building formerly used as a circus. In 1825, an association was formed by the artists of the city under the name of the New York Drawing Association, which was afterward organized under the name of the National Academy of the Arts of Design, with S. F. B. Morse as the first president. The first public exhibition of the new Academy took place in May, 1826, in the house on the south-west corner of Broadway and Reade Street. The room in which the first exhibition was held was in the second story, and was lighted with gas—six burners in all for the whole exhibition—which consisted of one hundred and seventy pictures."* Let the reader contrast these humble beginnings with the present delightful receptions,

* *Mary L. Booth.*

For a detailed history of the National Academy of Design from the finished pen of T. Addison Richards, see Appendix No. X.

which are attended by all of the wit, culture, and beauty of the city, and which are held in the elegant building on the north-west corner of Fourth Avenue and Twenty-third Street.



NATIONAL ACADEMY OF DESIGN.

The building itself has a front of eighty feet on Twenty-third Street, and of ninety-eight feet and nine inches on Fourth Avenue. "The main entrance is on the former front, level with the second story, and reached by a double flight of steps. This second and principal story is thus divided: A wide hall extends from the entrance nearly the whole length of the building. In this are the stairs leading to the third story. To the right hand, on entering, is a range of four large rooms, which occupy all of the Fourth Avenue side. These rooms are lighted by the eight windows shown in the engraving—forming an arcade which extends from the entire depth of the longer façade—and by the three windows of similar design on Twenty-

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of President of the American Medical Association for the year 1925. The names are listed in alphabetical order of their last names.



The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of President of the American Medical Association for the year 1925. The names are listed in alphabetical order of their last names.

third Street. The grand staircase leading to the upper galleries is a feature of the building. They are wide, massive, and imposing in effect. Exhibition galleries occupy the whole of the third story, which is lighted from the roof. The interior of the building has been handsomely fitted up at great expense. Most of the woodwork is of oak, walnut, ash, and other hard woods, oiled and polished, so as to show the natural color and grain. The rooms of the second floor, except the lecture-room, are finished like the parlors of a first-class house. Each of the four large rooms on Fourth Avenue has an open fire-place, with a hearth of ornamental encaustic tiles, and rich mantel-piece of oak. The windows are fitted with plate-glass sliding sashes, and the rooms communicate through a series of plate-glass sliding-doors. The vestibule at the main entrance has an ornamental pavement of variegated marbles, and the floor of the great hall is walnut and maple in patterns. The design of the exterior was copied from a famous palace in Venice; and, being the only instance of this style of architecture in the city, or we believe in the country, it possesses a peculiar interest. It is one of the most brilliantly decorated edifices in the country. The double flight of steps leading to the main entrance—rendered necessary by the circumscribed limits of the lot on which the building stands—has been skillfully made an ornament rather than a defect. It is beautifully carved, and underneath it is an elegant drinking fountain, radiant in color and other exquisite embellishments. The walls of the lower story are of gray marble, marked with intervening lines of North River blue-stone, and the entire elevation is thus variegated in blue and gray and white. The cost of the building was one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars." *

* *New York Illustrated.*

In August, 1865, the OLD WARREN MANSION was torn down, its beautiful lawns covered with brick, and its massive locusts cut up and given to the winds.* This mansion, which stood near the intersection of Charles and Bleecker Streets, was built by Sir Peter Warren about 1740. Although, when demolished, in the heart of the city, yet at that time it stood in the open country with its lawns reaching down to the North River—long before even the first cottage had been built in the village of Greenwich. It is indeed safe to say that around no other house did there cluster so many associations which to New Yorkers should be especially dear. Admiral, afterward Sir Peter Warren, K. B., the hero of Lewisburg, is scarcely known to the present generation; and yet aside from his being so long identified with the naval glory of England, he was in our colonial history the great man of an era, and at one time, during the administration of Clinton, exercised more influence in the Colonial Government than even the Governor himself. At that time, when the extreme limit of our city was Wall Street, the house No. 1 Broadway, by the Bowling Green—now the Washington Hotel—was built by Sir Peter as his town house, in distinction from his country seat—the house of which we are now speaking. In 1748, when the small-pox was raging in this city, the Colonial Assembly, to get out of reach of the contagion, accepted Sir Peter's tender of his country seat and adjourned thither to escape the plague by being in the country! It indeed seemed

* Other landmarks, it is true, had previously been demolished. The OLD BRICK CHURCH, erected in 1768 on the triangular piece of ground between Park Row, Beekman, and Nassau Streets, and used in the Revolution, first as a prison and then as a hospital for prisoners, had given place, in 1856, to the "Times Building," and the ATLANTIC GARDEN, formerly "Burns' Coffee House," and the "Faneuil Hall" of New York, had been also purchased and destroyed by the Hudson River Railroad Company; but neither of these ever possessed the personal reminiscences of the Old Warren Mansion.

really cruel to cut down those ancient trees, planted by the Admiral's own hand. A tree, like a tooth, is very easily removed, but is a long time in growing; and it is thus that a Spanish peasant feels when, with religious



THE OLD BRICK CHURCH.

feeling, he stoops down by the wayside and plants the pit or seed of the fruit which he has been eating. It were to be wished that Americans had more veneration for the ancient traditions of their own country and for the ves-

tiges of the past. A few individuals occasionally have this feeling, and in a large measure; but as a nation we have no love for the past, and hence old landmarks, pregnant with hallowed associations, are continually being removed to make room for "modern improvements," until it is to be feared that soon oral tradition will be all that will be left to inform the rising generation of what once was. It is true that more attention is now paid to our past history than formerly by historical societies; but they are powerless in very many instances to arrest the hand of vandalism. The practice of the old country in this respect is far different. An old abbey or castle, or even an old tavern, is guarded with zealous care; the government—if private liberality is in fault—pays out large sums to keep them intact; and the people, even the lowest, feel a personal interest in the preservation of some relic which their village may perchance boast of. Especially is this difference in feeling between the old world and the new seen in the care with which all the mementoes of a battle-field are preserved. In Germany, for example, while the most ignorant peasant residing in the vicinity of any of the battle-fields of the thirty years' war will tell you accurately and truthfully where this and that point of interest is; where the battle raged the hottest and where the turning point was reached; a well-to-do farmer in America, residing on the battle-field itself, will be unable to point out a single place of interest—and he will do very well if he knows that there was a battle fought on his farm at all. Even at this very time two farmers, living in the vicinity of the scene of the famous battle of Saratoga, are busily advocating their claims to living upon the particular spot upon which the famous charge of the British Highlanders was made—and yet the farms lie a mile distant from each other! Chancing, moreover, to visit, a year or two since, the ruins of Fort

Ticonderoga, on Lake Champlain, the writer was pained to find that the farmers in the vicinity had for several years past been in the habit of pulling down the ruins and drawing them off for the purpose of building fences. But it is not too late to prevent the removal of the few old landmarks that yet remain among us. In the densely settled parts of the city where they stand there is great need of breathing-places, and why, therefore, cannot our city government buy the spots and let them remain as little parks? The public certainly would feel much better satisfied with this expenditure of the public funds by the City Council than voting silver services or costly badges.

In the same spirit of vandalism the crumbling remains of those who—some of them for nearly a century—had slept beneath the tower of the OLD NORTH DUTCH CHURCH,*

* This edifice, standing at the north-west corner of Fulton and William Streets, New York, is one of the antiquities of the city, being now over a century old. In 1767 the two churches then used by the Protestant Reformed Dutch Church (since known as the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church) were found insufficient to accommodate the increasing congregations, and the Consistory decided to erect a third place of worship. They resolved that "the church should be erected on the grounds of Mr. Harpending; that it should be one hundred feet in length and seventy in breadth; that it should front *Horse and Cart Lane*, and be placed in the middle of the lot." The grounds thus referred to were given by John Harpending, an influential member of the church, who had died at an advanced age in 1722. His coat of arms can still be seen suspended over the pulpit; it has on it implements belonging to the currying business, his trade having been that of a tanner and currier. The motto which it bears, "*Dando Conserveat*," is significant of the spirit which actuated the donor in the distribution of his wealth. The part of William Street on which this church stands was then called "*Horse and Cart Lane*," from a tavern near by, which had for a sign the picture of a horse and cart.

The corner-stone of the North Dutch Church was laid July 2d, 1767, by Isaac Roosevelt, one of its elders, and the dedication was preached by the Rev. Dr. Laidlie, on the 25th of May, 1769. The cost of the building was £12,000.

The main walls are constructed of uncut stone, stuccoed and painted. The door and window dressings and molding are of freestone, now badly damaged by the rough usage through which the building has passed. On the columns in the interior of the church can be seen the initials of the generous contributors toward the erection of the church. The original pulpit was removed during the Revolution by the British. Some time after the war an American gentleman, attending service in a country church in England, was astonished

were removed in 1866 to Greenwood Cemetery. In the majority of cases, however, the silver plates once attached to the coffins (mingled with fine dust) were the only remains. The dust was separated as carefully
1866. as possible, placed in boxes, and conveyed to Greenwood. Still, in the chaotic state in which the ashes of the dead lay complete accuracy was impossible; and perhaps the dust of persons who, while on earth, cherished bitter animosity toward each other, is destined hereafter to repose in the closest commingling in the same casket.

The Consistory at the time expressed the intention (which has since been carried out) to dispose of only a part of the land upon which the building stands; and should that edifice be torn down, they wish the community to be assured that it is their present intention to erect on part of its site a spacious and elegant chapel, in which preaching will be continued each Sabbath, and the regular noon prayer-meeting upon every day of the week—so long as they have control.

Thus much to explain the intentions of the Consistory. We add our unqualified condemnation of the movement. It is a disgrace to the age and to the city that old churchyards are thus invaded by the demands of commerce, and the repose of the dead violated, because the city has grown. Old grave-yards ought to be venerated as holy ground. Men should no more consent to such changes than they would consent to sell the bones of their own fathers and mothers for knife-handles. If the church is deserted and congregations cannot be maintained, then let

to recognize in it the pulpit of the North Dutch Church. During the Revolution this church was used as a place for storage, and as a hospital by the English. It was also used by the latter as a prison, and at one time contained eight hundred American prisoners. The lower part was stripped of the pews, pulpit, etc., and the marks of ill-usage can still be seen on the pillars. The engraving shows the church as it appeared before its wooden steeple was destroyed by fire, which occurred about two years ago.

it stand as a memorial, or in its place build a durable monument to the old and good men of New York who sleep beneath it. But let them sleep! Our condemnation applies to all the removals of down-town churches and

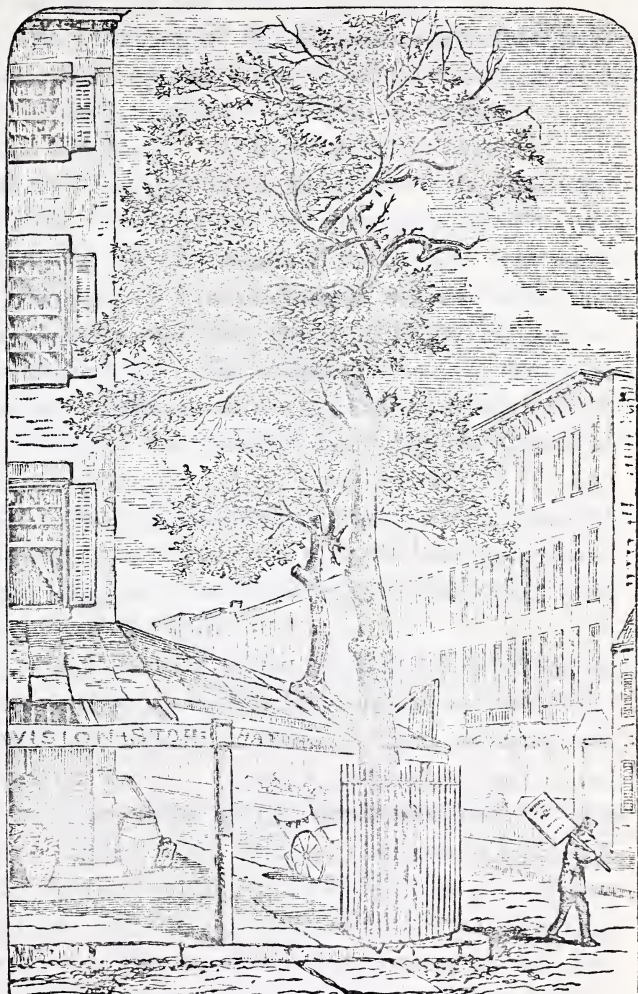


OLD NORTH DUTCH CHURCH.

church-yards which have taken place or are now going forward. There is no excuse for it, nor any palliation of the offense against propriety. If the Consistory intend to build a chapel in place of the North Dutch Church, let

them build it; but let not a spade-full of the dust of the fathers be sold for gold.

In the spring of 1867 the STUYVESANT PEAR-TREE, then



THE STUYVESANT PEAR-TREE.

1867. in its two hundred and twentieth year, put forth blossoms for the last time. This tree was planted on Governor Stuyvesant's farm in 1647, and stood at the

corner of Third Avenue and Thirteenth Street, where it was cherished by all familiar with its history as the last visible link which connected the present generation directly with the time of the Dutch dynasty.*

In 1868 the widening of the Bloomingdale road into the new Boulevard, by the Park Commissioners, caused the removal of still another venerable landmark.

This was an old house on Broadway, between 1868. Seventy-fifth and Seventy-sixth Streets, which possessed greater historical interest than was generally known even to those living in its immediate vicinity. It was here that Louis Philippe, of France, taught school during his residence in America, and the room in which his classes were held remained until the building was torn down, in nearly the same condition as during his occupancy of it. This quaint old house was erected some time previous to the Revolution, although no accurate record of its age can be found. The original deed of transfer was executed in 1796, but the house is known to have been considerably older than this, as it was standing several years previous to the sale of the farm.

It was a low two-story frame house with brick ends, covering a space fifty by eighty feet square, substantially built and habitable, though it had not been occupied for the past thirteen years. A steep, sloping, shingle roof extended from the eaves of the porch in front to the extreme rear kitchen, with dormer windows to light the upper rooms. In the interior, on either side of the central hall, were parlors and sitting-rooms, with low ceilings and narrow doorways. The wood-work in the rooms was finished with an elaborate care not seen in the houses of this class at the present day. There were corner cupboards with

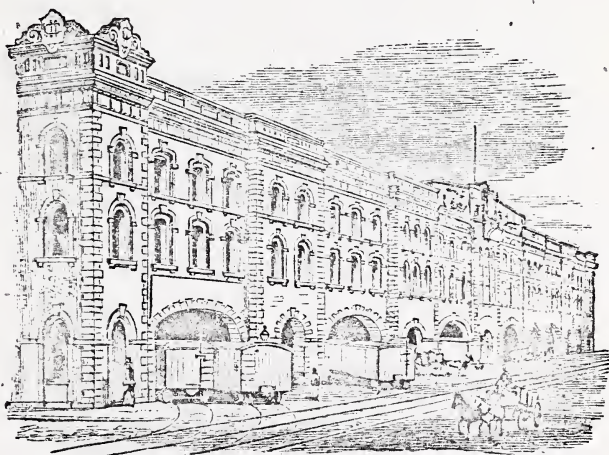
* Since the fall of the tree, however, a promising shoot from the ancient stock has taken its place, and shows a hardy vigor which may yet enable it to rival its progenitor in age.

carved and paneled doors, quaintly ornamented window casings, immense fire-places, surbases finished with a profusion of molding, and doors that seemed to have been put together like a Chinese puzzle. The stairs were narrow and steep, turning squarely at each platform, instead of winding, as in more modern houses. Around the fire-place in the school-room of the exiled King was a row of blue and white Antwerp tiles, ornamented with pictures from the New Testament, with the chapter and verse to which they referred indicated in large characters beneath. These were probably the last that remained in New York of the historical Dutch tiles that were once so fashionable. This venerable mansion, which was probably the oldest in the city, was formerly the homestead of the Somerindike family, who once owned nearly all the surrounding part of the island not included in the extensive Harsen estate.

The beginning of 1869 was marked by the occurrence of five separate events: These are, first, the removal of yet another landmark—the old NEW YORK HOSPITAL;^{*} second, the blotting out of the beautiful St. John's Park, by the erection of the huge and unsightly

* The New York Hospital was founded, as stated in a former chapter, in 1770, during the administration of Governor Dunmore, and was then a mile in the open country. It is a question whether the authorities of New York, in consenting to the removal, have not made a very serious mistake; and also, whether the number of elegant iron stores erected on its site at all compensate for its loss. Aside from any sentimental reasons why it should have been allowed to remain, there is one which should have been conclusive against it, viz.: that the lower part of the city is thus left destitute of any place to which injured persons can be brought for relief. Situated, as it was, in the most bustling portion of the city, this Hospital received more casual patients than any other. Women and children run over in the press of the street; laborers injured while employed in the new buildings constantly going up in the vicinity; warehouse porters bruised or sprained while handling packages and casks;—all invariably found in it a comfortable asylum, and received the best of medical and surgical attendance. Now, however, the nearest hospital is Bellevue, more than three miles distant from the Battery—a long way to carry a patient prostrated, it may be, with sun-stroke or broken bones. We do not

freight depot of the Hudson River Railroad; third, the extension of Church Street from Fulton to Morris Streets, and the opening of Pearl Street through the Hospital grounds; fourth, the tearing down of numerous old and dilapidated buildings, and the erection in their places of costly and imposing business and private structures; and



HUDSON RIVER RAILROAD FREIGHT DEPOT.

fifth, the removal of the courts and civil offices from the City Hall to the New Court House.

The extension of Church Street removes many objectionable places, breaks up a number of dens of iniquity, and puts in their stead some really fine structures. Directly in the rear of Trinity Church the "tumble-

know how efficient police-surgeons may be as a rule, but we do know that in some instances they live miles away from the precinct to which they are attached, and if, as it is said, the station houses are unprovided with medical appliances, a physician, called in hurriedly in an imminent and deadly crisis, may find his best efforts frustrated for want of proper means.

down" "rookeries," which formerly stood in that vicinity, have given place to a block of nine elegant stores. The entire building, which is built of iron, painted white, is six stories in height and tastefully ornamented. The north end, fronting on Trinity Place, is occupied by the United States Government as a bonded warehouse—while the other stores, which are mostly occupied by shipping merchants, will compare favorably with any of similar character in New York.

CHAPTER XIV.

ARCHITECTURE is one of the crowning glories of a city, and nothing more strongly indicates the cultivation of a people than refinement in this beautiful department of science. "Order is the first law of nature," 1869. and the utter disregard hitherto paid to all established orders of architecture in this country is one reason, probably, that we have become such a disorderly people! The taste of the Greeks in the arts has contributed more to their glory than their deeds of arms. The chisel of Phidias carved for him a name of more true renown than the sword did for Alexander; and the name of Sir Christopher Wren will live as long in English history as that of the Duke of Wellington. Every patriotic Gothamite, therefore, should rejoice at each successive improvement in architectural taste among us.

In this respect the present year, as hinted at toward the close of the last chapter, marks an era in the history of the city. There is not space to speak in detail of each of the new buildings which were finished or were building during this year—among the latter of which may be mentioned the Grand Central Depot, opened in 1871, and the new Post-office, not yet completed.* Great changes were

* This structure, now (1872) building at the southern end of the City Hall Park, will, when completed, add another to the many magnificent structures which adorn the city. It is to be built of granite, marble, and iron, at a cost of \$3,500,000, which amount has been appropriated by Congress.

The style of architecture is the pure French Renaissance. It will be three

noticeable throughout the city, but especially so along the line of Broadway. This great thoroughfare will ever be improving; and property owners will not be satisfied until its entire length presents an even and unbroken front of brown stone or marble. Passing by the many structures erected in 1867 and 1868, such as the Park and other banks,* the *Herald* Building and others, the following buildings are successively reached, viz.: the Merchants'

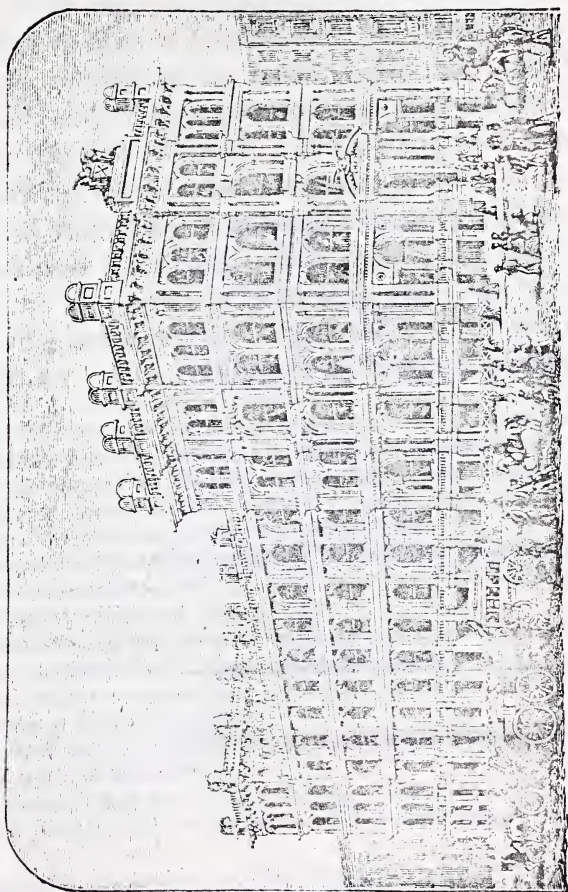
stories high, surmounted by a Mansard roof, marked by a center pavilion four stories in height. The pavilion in front will be 160 feet high, and the building facing the City Hall will be 320 feet in length. The first story will be 22 feet high, composed of arched openings, supported upon square piers; the second will be 18 feet high, and the third, 16 feet. The style of the building is that of the Tuileries and the Hotel de Ville. The building will display the following statues: America, Commerce, Industry, Washington, Franklin, Justice, History, Peace, Strength, Truth, Genius of the Arts, Virtue, Honor, Literature, Mechanics, Genius of Science, Agriculture, and Navigation. The public corridor will be 25 feet wide and 600 feet in length, with entrances from Broadway and Park Row. The building can be completed, it is claimed, in two years. Clocks are to be placed at various points around the building for the accommodation of the public.

In his annual report (January, 1872) Mr. Mullett, the architect, speaks of it as follows:

"The progress of work has been not only gratifying, but its cost has been kept within the amount of the estimates. The first story is now nearly completed. An idea of the immense amount of work that has been done may be formed from the following statement of materials used and labor expended to the present time, viz.: 2,476,960 bricks; 15,701 barrels cement; 144,087 feet cube granite; 2,689 yards rubble masonry; 5,206,442 pounds of wrought and cast iron; and the magnitude of the undertaking, from the fact that there are now engaged at Dix Island 1,002 persons in the preparation of the granite alone, of whom 704 are employed in cutting the granite for the Government, and 298 in quarrying the stock and otherwise for the contractors. Three hundred and twenty-seven thousand one hundred and sixty-nine and one-half days' labor have already been expended in cutting and boxing the granite after it has been quarried; and it is estimated that three hundred thousand days' labor will be required to complete that branch of the work alone."

* The more prominent banks of New York include the Bank of New York, corner of Wall and William Streets, the Mechanics' Bank, the Merchants' Bank, the Manhattan, the Bank of Commerce, Nassau Bank, &c. The banks of New York are daily becoming more important in an architectural point of view.

The American Exchange Bank, 128 Broadway, corner of Liberty Street, is a splendid building of Caen stone.



NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE CO.'S BUILDING.

Exchange Bank, a few doors south of Warren Street; the elegant stores on the grounds of the old New York Hospital; the Ninth National Bank Building, between Walker and Lispenard Streets; the large iron building on the site of the well known Costar property, which has a frontage of seventy-five feet on Broadway, and extends back two hundred feet to Mercer Street; and the iron store of A. T. Stewart, occupying an entire block, until, in Union Square, we come to two fine iron buildings on the former site of Dr. Cheever's Church. But perhaps the two most costly buildings which deserve especially to be noticed are those of the Equitable Assurance Company and the New York Insurance Company. The building of the former Company, at the corner of Broadway and Cedar Street, is probably the strongest and most solid structure in the United States. The building is of Concord granite, and

The Bank of Commerce, in Nassau Street, facing the Post-office, is one of the finest marble edifices in the city. Its capital is \$10,000,000.

Duncan, Sherman & Co.'s Banking House is built of brown stone, and stands on the corner of Nassau and Pine Streets; it cost \$150,000. Adjoining this is another splendid establishment—the Continental Bank.

The Bank of the Republic is situated at the corner of Broadway and Wall Street; it is a noble edifice, built of brown stone; its entire cost is estimated at about \$175,000. Its capital is \$2,000,000.

The Metropolitan is also built of brown stone, and is located at the corner of Pine Street and Broadway; its cost is stated at \$160,000.

The Bank of the Commonwealth, 15 Nassau Street, is a beautiful brown stone structure of elegant proportions.

The Bank of America is one of the old established banks, situated 46 Wall Street. Its capital is \$3,000,000.

On the corner of Wall and William Streets is another fine edifice, the Bank of New York, recently built with brick and brown stone facings. Its capital is \$2,000,000.

The Bank of North America, 44 Wall Street, has a capital of \$1,000,000.

Broadway Bank, corner of Broadway and Park Place, is a massive brown stone building; its cost is stated at \$127,000.

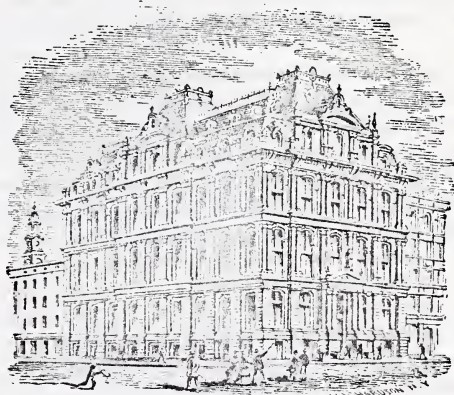
The Park Bank, 214 and 217 Broadway, is a recent establishment, with a capital of \$2,000,000.

The Phenix Bank, 45 Wall Street.

The Shoe and Leather Bank, corner of Broadway and Chambers Street, has a capital of \$1,000,000.

The Union Bank, 34 Wall Street, has a capital of \$1,500,000.

the successive stories are in the doric and composite orders, surmounted by a balustrade, dormer windows, and a double-pitched French roof. The elevation of the building is one hundred and twenty-five feet from the sidewalk, and it is readily discerned above all other houses in approaching the city from the ocean. Over the main entrance is placed an allegorical group, representing the Guardian Angel of Life Insurance stretching an arm of protection over the widow and fatherless. The cost of the structure was one million five hundred thousand dollars.



EQUITABLE BUILDING.

The New York Insurance Company's building, on the corner of Broadway and Leonard—the site formerly occupied by Appleton & Co., and more recently by S. B. Chittenden & Co., until the latter were burned out—is also an ornament to the city, and cost, exclusive of the ground, one million of dollars. It is in many respects like the Equitable; but though very strongly built, it lacks that massiveness that is apparent in the walls and solid stone pillars of the other.

White Street has also been built up rapidly, and so valuable has it become that lots now sell readily for \$50,000 to \$60,000 each; and it would scarcely be credited—

at least by a Rip Van Winkle—that three hundred feet nearer Broadway will make an average difference of \$6,000 or \$7,000. A very fine building was erected on this street the present year, intended for the straw-goods trade, at a cost of \$50,000 for the building and \$55,000 for the lot. It is chiefly of iron, and measures 25 x 100 feet.*

In this connection it will be interesting to quote an article which appeared in the *Historical Magazine* for February, 1868 :

"BROADWAY, PAST AND PRESENT.—We have received a communication which gives some interesting facts concerning the territory of Broadway. Our correspondent, who lived in New York in 1800, says :

'It occurred to me a few days since, when I noticed in your columns the advertisement of sale at auction, by E. H. Ludlow, of the plot of ground on the corner of Broadway and Canal Street, that it might interest some of your young readers, and those who have, within the past ten years, made our city their residence, to learn a few facts about the early territory of Broadway. The above plot, which the owners, I am told, have refused to sell for four hundred thousand dollars, I know was purchased by John Jay, the grandfather of the present owners, for the sum of one thousand dollars, and had he or his son William lived a century beyond this they would never have sold it. In their day they never believed in selling real estate; so it was with the late owner of the corner of Broadway and Chambers Street, Benjamin Stevens. He purchased that lot for one thousand dollars. The corner of Broadway and Broome Street was bought by a barber for five hundred dollars, and remained in the hands of his heirs until within a few years. The Jay lot above referred to is held under lease by Patrick Dickie, at a rent of two thousand dollars per annum, and for which he receives from the occupants about sixty thousand dol.

* In order to show the immense percentage paid on investments made in real estate, we give an authentic table of the value of a few of the buildings referred to in the text, and the rents that are expected for them by their owners :

<i>Buildings.</i>	<i>Cost.</i>	<i>Rent Expected.</i>
Marble Store.....	\$50,000 \$13,000
Iron Store.....	95,000 25,000
Factory.....	45,000 10,000
Store; Iron.....	110,000 28,000
Store.....	70,000 18,000
Store.....	70,000 16,000
Store.....	125,000 35,000

By which it appears that the rental averages a little more than twenty-five per cent. on the outlay.

lars. It may not be generally known that the site where Stewart's store stands, on Broadway and Reade Street, was formerly occupied by a hotel known as Washington Hall, and that it was so far from the business center of the city that country merchants would not go out to it, and every one failed who kept the hotel. The lot owned by Gemmel, the watchmaker, on the corner of Broadway and Duane Street, was sold in 1812 for fifteen hundred dollars down. It was the first house built in the city with an under cellar. About fifteen years since, when walking up Broadway with one of our old Irish residents, he mentioned that he had seen lots sold since his arrival in New York, on Broadway, for one thousand dollars, which were then worth about seven thousand. He lamented his neglect in not availing himself of the chances of making a fortune in Broadway property, which he had suffered to pass. The same lots to-day are worth one hundred thousand dollars; yet I am told by those who know, that lots in London, situated with equal business advantages to lots on Broadway, in the most favorable locations, are worth in London quite double the present value on Broadway. All owners of Broadway property should bear in mind that there is but one Broadway in the world, and they have only to learn themselves, and to teach their heirs, to *wait*; and while waiting they will get a large interest upon present values, and in twenty years from to-day the values will be double; and it is more than probable they will be increased to more than three times the present prices they are selling at."

The following account of an auction sale, held the 11th of January 1872, and clipped from the *New York Tribune*, is also in point:

"A large attendance of wealthy real estate owners attended the sale conducted by Messrs. Muller, Wilkins & Co., under direction of the executors of the late Daniel Devlin. The property comprises four first-class marble stores and lots on the north side of Canal Street, 227 feet east of Broadway, known as Nos. 261, 263, 265 and 267 Canal Street, and two five-story stores and lots on the South side of Howard Street, connecting with the Canal Street property—lot on Canal Street 100 x 110, lot on Howard Street 49.8 x 100. By direction of Mr. Devlin's will the property was sold at auction. The executors offered the whole in one lot, and, after languid bidding by a few prominent capitalists, it was sold to Mr. E. S. Higgins for \$363,000. The stores are now rented, on a lease expiring May 1st, for \$55,000, and are sublet for \$72,000.

"Adrian H. Muller sold, by order of the Supreme Court, under direction of W. W. Goodrich, referee, one-third interest in the two blocks of ground on the north side of Sixty-first Street, and commencing at Eighth Avenue. The property was struck off at \$65,000, and was purchased by the parties in interest.

"Messrs. Arnold, Constable & Co. have recently purchased two lots on the north-east corner of Eighty-third Street and Fifth Avenue for \$95,000, paying \$55,000 for the corner lot and \$40,000 for the one adjoining."

Before closing the record of this year allusion should be made to the elegant buildings of the Young Men's

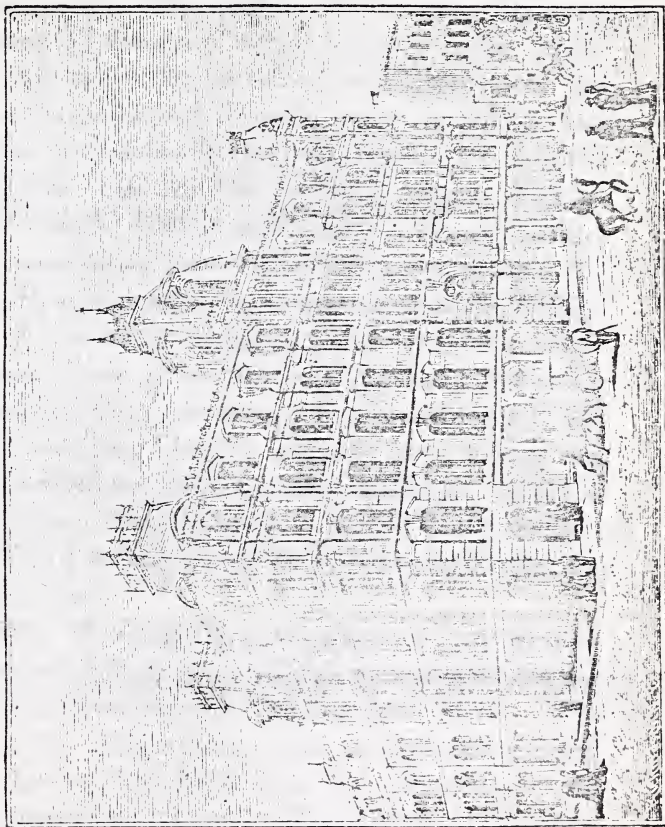
Christian Association, Booth's Theater, and the Grand Opera-house.

The Young Men's Christian Association of New York City was organized July, 1852, and incorporated April, 1860, for the "Improvement of the Spiritual, Mental, Social, and Physical Condition of Young Men." The Association seeks to accomplish the purposes of its organization by the employment of the following agencies, namely: Free Reading-Rooms, a Free Circulating and a Free Reference Library, Sunday Evening Sermons, Free Lectures at Rooms, Prayer Meetings, Bible Classes, Social and Musical Meetings, Readings, a Literary Society, and a Musical Society; by aiding in the selection of good boarding-places; by obtaining, as far as possible, situations for those who are out of employment; by visiting and relieving those who are sick and in want; by introducing strangers to fit persons for friends and acquaintances, and to suitable church connections; and by the use of every other means in harmony with the name it bears, that may tend to cheer, aid, and guide young men, especially such as come from country homes or foreign lands.*

It was soon found, however, that the general rooms of the Association, which were situated at 161 Fifth Avenue, were entirely too small to accommodate the constantly increasing influx of young men. Accordingly, in 1868, a very valuable plot of land on the south-west corner of Fourth Avenue and Twenty-third Street was purchased, at a cost of one hundred and forty-two thousand dollars, for the erection of a building worthy of the work to which the Association had devoted its energies. The

* "Hundreds of young men," writes Mr. McBurney, the Secretary, to the writer, "from all parts of our own land, as well as from Europe, come to us for advice on temporal and spiritual things. We are careful not to make public cases which come under our notice, so that young men may come to us with full confidence when in difficulty. Many who have been thus quietly helped are now holding prominent positions in the city."

vigor and good judgment with which the Association conducted its work gave to it the full confidence of the very best men in the city (its real estate is held by a Board of Trustees, composed of such men as Stewart Brown,



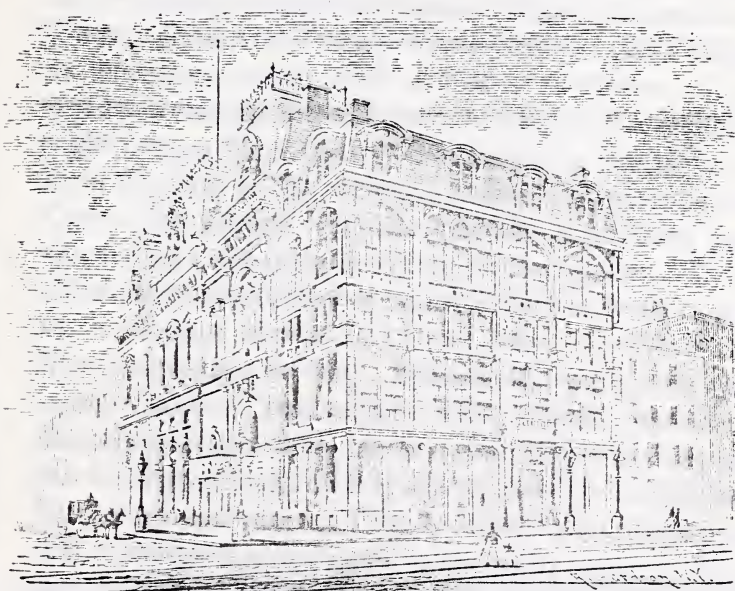
YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION BUILDING.

Robert L. Stuart, James Stokes, Charles C. Colgate, Robert Lenox Kennedy, Jonathan Sturges, and others), and the result was that in the summer of this year the building

was completed and thoroughly furnished at a cost of about three hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The building itself stands directly opposite the Academy of Design, on the south-west corner of Fourth Avenue and Twenty-third Street. It is acknowledged to be one of the finest specimens of the Renaissance order of architecture in the city. The roof is of the steep Mansard pattern, presenting towers of equal height at each corner of the building, and a larger tower (windowed) over the entrance (on Twenty-third Street), which is simple and elegant. The dimensions of the building are one hundred and seventy-five feet on Twenty-third Street, eighty-three feet on Fourth Avenue, and ninety-seven feet at the rear. The material is New Jersey brown-stone and the yellowish marble from Ohio in almost equal parts, though on account of the latter composing the trimming material the brown stone gives the building the controlling air. The building contains twenty-five apartments in all, including gymnasium, library, lecture-rooms, offices, etc. Besides this general building, the Association has rooms at 76 Varick Street, One Hundred and Twenty-Second Street and Third Avenue, and at 97 Wooster Street, for colored young men.

"Branching off along the same street, to the west of Fifth Avenue, will bring us to Booth's new theater, on the corner of Sixth Avenue and Twenty-third Street. The building is in the Renaissance style of architecture, and stands seventy-five feet high from the sidewalk to the main cornice, crowning which is a Mansard roof of twenty-four feet. The theater proper fronts one hundred and forty-nine feet on Twenty-third Street, and is divided into three parts, so combined as to form an almost perfect whole. An arched entrances at either extremity on the side for the admission of the public, and on the other for another entrance and the use of actors and those employed

in the house. There are three doors on the frontage, devised for securing the most rapid egress of a crowded audience in case of fire, and, in connection with other facilities, said to permit the building to be vacated in five minutes. On either side of these main entrances are broad and lofty windows; and above them, forming a part of the second story, are niches for statues, surrounded by coupled columns resting on finely-sculptured pedestals. The central or main niche is flanked on either side by quaintly-contrived blank windows; and between the columns, at the depths of the recesses, are simple pilasters, sustaining the elliptic arches, which will serve to span and top the niches, the latter to be occupied by statues of the great creators and interpreters of the drama in every age and country. The finest Concord granite, from the best quarries in New Hampshire, is the material used in the entire façade, as well as in the Sixth Avenue side. The interior—probably the most complete and elegant in the world—is equally deserving of notice. It is subdivided, architecturally speaking, into four heights. The first and lowermost embraces the parquet, circle, and orchestra seats, for the accommodation of eight hundred persons. The second tier is thrown into the dress-circle; the third constitutes the family circle; and the fourth embraces the gallery, or amphitheater. There is something of the French model suggested by the general effect of the interior, but there are many graceful and pleasing originalities. The stage is fifty-five feet in breadth, seventy-five feet in depth, fifty in total height, and is set in a beautiful ornamental framework, so as to give the effect of a gorgeously framed picture to the *mise en scène*. The boxes are tastefully arranged on either side of the stage; and all of the interior divisions and subdivisions unite in their construction the latest and most improved appliances for celerity and ease in the manifold operations of the entire company.



BOOTH'S THEATRE.

Taken from a point embracing the Sixth Avenue and Twenty-third Street façades, the glittering granite mass, exquisitely poised, adorned with rich and appropriate carving, statuary, columns, pilasters, and arches, and capped by the springing French roof, fringed with its shapely balustrades, offers an imposing and majestic aspect, and forms one of the architectural jewels of the city.

"The Grand Opera-house is an imposing and elegant structure, and occupies the block on Eighth Avenue between Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Streets. It is estimated to have cost nearly half a million of dollars. It fronts one hundred and thirteen feet on the Avenue, and ninety-eight feet on Twenty-third Street, and is eighty feet high from the base to the cornice. It has a basement and four floors—the former being occupied by a warming apparatus, and as a general store-room for the theater. The main entrance to the theater is twenty-one feet wide, and leads up a passage eighty feet long into a vestibule forty-five by seventy-two feet. Thence the visitor passes up the main staircase, twelve feet wide, which conducts him directly into the dress-circle. The upper stories, which are divided into the family-circle and the amphitheater, have their entrance on Twenty-third Street. The parquet and orchestra are arranged in the usual manner—the former occupying the elevation of the inclined plane. The stage is seventy-two by seventy-six feet, which, including the proscenium, makes a total depth of eighty-four feet. It is capitally adapted for setting elaborate scenes and spectacles, the ground beneath being excavated to the depth of twenty-five feet. The scenery is so arranged as to descend through the stage and slide at the sides in the usual way. The exterior of the building is a good specimen of the Italian order of architecture. At the top, over the main entrance, is a statuesque group representing

Apollo and Erato. Below this are medallions of Shakespeare and Mozart; and on either side of the window below are large figures representing Comedy and Tragedy. Emblazoned coats-of-arms brighten the main entrance on either side. One of the most praiseworthy features of this noble theater is the ease with which the audience can make their exit from the building in case of fire—there being no less than seven exits leading directly to the streets, and all readily accessible. The front of the theater, on Eighth Avenue, is of solid marble, with ornamental cornice; and the interior is lighted by chandeliers in a dome thirty feet in diameter.”*

Indeed, it needs no prophetic vision to foretell that soon New York will have justly entitled herself to the name of the CITY OF PALACES. In fact, only two things are now apparently required to enable the keystone to be placed upon the edifice begun by our Dutch ancestors, viz., a good municipal government, and a safe and rapid means of transit from the upper to the lower portions of the island. From the peculiar topographical situation of New York—it being, in effect, a long and narrow peninsula—the population, unable to spread itself out on each side, is either obliged to reside on the opposite banks of two rivers, or is forced into the upper portion of the island—either of which alternatives is extremely inconvenient to the business community. To lessen this inconvenience various schemes have been devised, such as an “arcade railroad” underneath Broadway, or a horse-car railroad on the surface of the same thoroughfare. There was also this year a pneumatic railroad started underground, at the corner of Warren Street and Broadway, which has been carried as far as Murray; while an elevated railroad, on iron pillars, was com-

* *New York Illustrated.*

pleted on Greenwich Street from the Battery to Thirtieth Street, though the cars are not yet making regular trips. Neither of these plans, however, meet all the requirements of the case, and it is evident that a mode of transit fulfilling all the conditions of success has yet to be invented. It cannot, however, be doubted that, with the fertility of expedients which New-Yorkers have always shown to meet any exigencies that might arise, this desirable consummation is only a question of time.

The opening of the year 1870 saw the old charter abolished by the Legislature, and a new one given to the city. The change first had its origin in the members of the Tammany organization separating into two bitter opposing factions called respectively the "Old" and "Young" Democracy—the former being led on the war-path by Wm. M. Tweed, and the latter by Sheriff O'Brien. After much angry dispute, both in this city and in the halls of the State Capitol, the "Old Democracy" triumphed, and carried through the new charter. While the fate of that instrument was in abeyance, the excitement ran high, and many old and staunch Republicans united, or more properly espoused, for the time being, the cause of the "Young Democracy," whose watchword professed to be "thorough reform in all departments of our corrupt city government." Indeed, so important did it appear that the old charter should be retained, or rather that the new one should be defeated, that the president of the Union League Club, Hon. Jackson L. Schultz, hastily called a meeting on the evening of the 2d of April, at which a committee of fifteen, with the Hon. Horace Greeley as chairman, was appointed to proceed to Albany at the earliest possible moment, and "protest emphatically against the passage of the charter now before the Senate, unless it is essentially amended." But although

the committee performed their duties faithfully, even to opposing it on the floor of the Senate, their efforts availed little; and although a few modifications were introduced into it, yet the Central Park Commission, with their powers, were changed; and the NEW CHARTER was given to the city substantially in its original shape.*

* The old and new departments compare as follows:

<i>New.</i>	<i>Old.</i>
Finance.	Finance.
Law.	Law.
Police.	Police.
Public Works.	Croton Board.
Charities and Correction.	Street Department.
Fire.	Charities and Correction.
Health.	Fire.
Public Parks.	Health.
Buildings.	Central Park.
Docks	Buildings.

The number of these departments remains the same, though two old ones are consolidated, and one entirely new one created.

The direct power of the people in the election of public officers under the new charter, and as formerly exercised, compares as follows:

<i>Under New Charter.</i>	<i>Under the Old System.</i>
The people elect—	The people elected—
Mayor.	Mayor.
Corporation Counsel.	Corporation Counsel.
Aldermen, who are also Supervisors.	Comptroller.
Assistant Aldermen.	Aldermen and Assistants.
School Officers.	Supervisors.
Judicial and County Officers.	School Officers.
	Judicial and County Officers.

It will thus be seen that the sum of these changes shows a very considerable loss in the people, even if the various commissioners and other officers were appointed by a Mayor elected for that purpose. But when it is remembered that the appointments are all made by an official about retiring from office, to be succeeded by a Mayor who can exercise no control whatever over any of these executive departments, it will be apparent that the City Government, instead of being more democratic than under the old system, is in reality a great deal less so.

At the present time of writing, however (January, 1872), the presumption is, that the "new charter" will be entirely abolished by the present Legislature now in session; the State election held on the 7th of November, 1871, having returned a majority of members to both houses pledged to its repeal.

The main peculiarity of the new charter, stripped of all of its verbiage, appears to consist in two things, viz.. first, that the various commissions which ruled so many departments of the city government and were appointed by the Governor of the State, instead of being elected by the people, are retained, *with this difference*, that the appointing power is vested in the Mayor of the city of New York; and secondly, that the old system of choosing inspectors of election is re-established, while the registry law is also retained.

CHAPTER XV.

THE year 1871 will always be memorable from the occurrence of three events—one of pleasant and two of painful memories. These were: first, the ORANGE RIOT; second, the noble manner in which the city of New York responded to the request of the sufferers of the GREAT CHICAGO FIRE for relief; and, third, the culmination and exposure of the gigantic frauds, and the downfall of the "TAMMANY RING."

The Orange Riot, which at one time promised to be as disastrous in its effect upon life and property as the "Draft Riot" of the Civil War, occurred on the afternoon of Wednesday, the 12th of July. Numerous threats having been made by the Roman Catholics against the Orangemen should they turn out in procession in honor of the victory won by the Prince of Orange at the battle of the Boyne, the Mayor issued a proclamation forbidding the parade. This step, however, at once aroused such an outburst of indignation, irrespective of party—not only in the city but throughout the country—that Governor Hoffman hastened to issue, on the morning of the day, a counter-proclamation, guaranteeing the safety of all Orangemen who should join in the celebration. The procession accordingly formed at the head-quarters of the Orangemen, on the corner of Twenty-ninth Street and

Eighth Avenue, and began its march under the escort of four militia regiments, the Seventh, Ninth, Twenty-second, and Eighty-fourth, and a large force of policemen. Scarcely, however, had the procession begun its march, when it was attacked at the intersection of Eighth Avenue and Twenty-sixth Street, both with missiles and fire-arms, hurled and discharged from the street and neighboring housetops. The Seventh Regiment, followed by the Eighty-fourth and the Ninth, thereupon, acting under general though not specific orders, began firing on the crowd by sections, and with such effect that the mob were quickly dispersed. As is almost always the case on such occasions, several innocent persons were unavoidably killed. Still, it is believed that the promptness with which the military opened fire was the means of preventing a vast amount of bloodshed. The number of those who were killed in this riot was sixty-two.

On the morning of Sunday, the 6th of October, the citizens of New York city were startled by the news which flashed along the telegraphic wires that a terrific fire was raging in a sister city. Nor were the emotions to which this intelligence gave rise dissipated when, on the next day, and the next, news came that the fire was still burning with increasing fury, and on the day following the further intelligence that, although the fire had been extinguished by a providential rain, yet it was not until five square miles of Chicago had been reduced to ashes, one hundred thousand people rendered houseless, and several hundred persons burned to death.

In response to the cry for help that went up from the stricken city, instant and abundant relief was sent from every part of the Union. Wherever the news was carried it awakened the best impulses of human nature. The General Government sent thousands of tents and army

rations. Societies and private citizens sent money, clothing, and provisions. Railroad companies dispatched special trains laden with these gifts. From Canada and from Europe came expressions of sympathy and proffers of assistance. Foremost among all in the good work was New York city. On Monday and Tuesday, while the fire was in progress, nearly all business was suspended. Crowds surrounded the bulletin boards of the newspaper and telegraph offices; men meeting with men could talk of nothing save the great and—as all considered it—national calamity; and although there was scarcely a person whose business was not more or less injured by the fire, yet when the event was spoken of it was to express heartfelt sympathy with the sufferers—personal considerations were cast entirely aside.

As soon as the extent of the disaster was known, meetings were held for the purpose of raising contributions in money and clothing in aid of the victims; collections were taken up at the different churches; the proprietors of the New York *Tribune* offered any Chicago newspaper the use of a duplicate set of type and presses; A. T. Stewart gave individually fifty thousand dollars; and wagons went through the streets bearing large placards, with the words: "WE TAKE CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE CHICAGO SUFFERERS." Public and private liberality walked hand in hand. In less than two weeks the handsome amount in money and material of nearly three millions of dollars was raised and forwarded to Chicago. The City of New York had acquitted herself nobly.

Although it had long been known by the citizens of New York, and the people throughout the country generally, that immense frauds were being perpetrated by certain persons styled "members of the Tammany Ring," yet it was not until the early summer of this year that

the people were fully aroused, both to the alarming state of affairs and to the necessity of bringing the guilty parties to justice. Accordingly a vigorous attack upon the "Ring" was first made by the *New York Times*, which, in a series of able editorials, exposed, by the publication of the exorbitant sums paid for different articles furnished the city government and other documents, the iniquitous proceedings by which the tax-payers of the city had been robbed of their money. There was the record of millions paid away for work that never was done, supplies that never were furnished, chairs and carpets that never were seen in any of the city or county offices. There were warrants drawn in favor of men who had no existence, and indorsed to the order of particular friends and instruments of the "Ring." There were proofs of the most daring forgery as well as of wholesale robbery. The whole country was aroused. Even Europe rang with the scandal.

At first the leaders of the "Ring" contented themselves with replying either by gibes or by the *argumentum ad hominem*—referring to alleged frauds in the departments of the Federal Government. At length, however, the sledge-hammer blows dealt day after day in the columns of the *Times* began to tell, and the "Ring" leaders, relinquishing their former tactics of treating the accusations lightly, and as a thing to be settled merely by a pert repartee, resorted to various quibbles. The Mayor, for example, stated that he had acted "ministerially," and had, therefore, "no personal responsibility." He also said that his name had been forged to duplicate bills, while the other officers of the municipal government, following the same line, assumed an air of entire ignorance regarding their alleged fraudulent practices.

Meanwhile the disclosures of corruption and malfeasance in office were of so astounding a nature that the

people were at length aroused to the importance of vigorous measures, and joined in a general demand for some action that would lead to the deposition of the men who had violated their oaths of office and betrayed their high trusts, chief among whom were mentioned A. Oakey Hall, Mayor; Peter B. Sweeney, President of the Commission of Public Parks; William M. Tweed, Commissioner of Public Works; and Richard B. Connolly, Comptroller of the City and County of New York—public officers commonly known as the “Ring” rulers of this city.

In obedience to the popular demand the following call was issued and published in the public newspapers:

“A meeting of citizens and tax-payers, irrespective of party, to consider the present condition of the city finances in view of the charges of corruption that have been made in respect to them, and to take such action as the public safety may require, will be held at the Cooper Union on Monday, September 4th, 1871, at 8 P. M. Hon. Wm. F. Havemeyer will preside. Hon. Edward Salomon, Hon. Robert B. Roosevelt, Hon. James Emott, Hon. Oswald Ottendorfer, Hon. Edwards Pierpont, Hon. Thomas A. Ledwith, and others, have accepted invitations to address the meeting. All persons opposed to the corrupt administration of city affairs are respectfully invited to attend.

In response to this call Cooper Union was crowded on the evening of the 4th of September in every part, and long before the hour announced for the opening of the meeting thousands of citizens were obliged to return to their homes, unable to obtain admission.

At eight o'clock, James M. Brown, Esq., of the firm of Messrs. Brown Brothers & Co., bankers, called the meeting to order, and nominated for chairman the Hon. William F. Havemeyer, ex-Mayor of the city of New York. The organization was completed by the election of two hundred and twenty-seven Vice-Presidents and fifteen Secretaries. These were chosen from among the most distinguished citizens of New York city.

At this meeting, after the subject for which it had been called had been ably presented by speakers of both

parties, Joseph H. Choate, Esq., reported a series of resolutions, which were unanimously adopted, and are appended, and a committee of seventy citizens and tax-payers was chosen in accordance with the recommendation therein contained.

THE RESOLUTIONS.

"Resolved, That the tax-payers and citizens of New York have learned with astonishment and alarm that the funded and bonded debt of the city and county has been more than doubled within the last two and a half years; that the acknowledged indebtedness of the city and county is now upward of \$113,000,000, being over \$63,000,000 more than it was when the present Mayor took his office, and that there is reason to believe that there are floating contingent or pretended debts and claims against the city and county which will amount to many millions of dollars in addition, which will be paid out of the City and County Treasury, unless the present financial officers are removed or their proceedings arrested.

"Resolved, That the distinct, precise, and emphatic charges in regard to the use and expenditure of this enormous sum, and the fraudulent misappropriation of the public money, which have been made against the present city and county officials, have been met by these officers with contemptuous denials of any power to interfere, with flippant evasions, with studied concealment of a large part of the public accounts, and with attempts to garble and confuse the residue, and by the other parties implicated with an utter silence, which is a confession of their guilt.

"Resolved, That the facts and figures already disclosed compel us, as they must all honest and reflecting men, to the conclusion that enormous sums of money have been wrongfully taken from the public treasury; that millions of dollars have been paid to a few firms and individuals for work never performed and materials never furnished, and this with the procurement or connivance of persons now holding the principal offices of trust and profit under the present charter; that exorbitant rents are paid for military armories and offices, and in several instances in rooms which do not exist or are not occupied. That the long and continued concealment of the accounts of the city proper furnishes ground to believe that these accounts will disclose facts, if possible, yet more astounding, and will show that the same men who have squandered or stolen hundreds of thousands of the tax-payers' moneys are still engaged in similar frauds and speculations.

"Resolved, That the public officers directly arraigned at the bar of public judgment for these offenses, are William M. Tweed, now Commissioner of the Department of Public Works, some time President of the former Board of Supervisors, and afterward one of the 'Interim' Board, who had notoriously a controlling influence in the first of these Boards and shared in the acts of the other, and who from his relations to parties in whose name bills were presented, and to whom they were ordered to be paid, is open to the suspicion, not only of having planned the swindle, but of having shared the plunder; Richard B. Connolly, the present Comptroller, and A. Oakley Hall, the present

Mayor, who were also members of the 'Interim' Board which sanctioned the payment of several millions of dollars, contrary to law and right, but who also signed the warrants and consented to the payments which they confess they had the power to expose, if not to arrest; and unless these officers can meet the charges by other evidence and on different pleas than have yet been furnished in their behalf, the credit of the city of New York and the material interests of its citizens will demand that they quit or be deprived of the offices which they have dishonored and the power they are abusing.

"Resolved, That we have a right to, and do, demand a full and detailed exhibit of the public receipts and expenditures for the past two years and a half, and of the real and pretended liabilities of the city and county of New York, including its funded and its floating debt. This demand is not simply to show whether the men who have used money of the city and created its now enormous debt, can produce vouchers or accounts for every payment, or whether the books of the Comptroller will balance, but what is the total amount which has been collected from taxes, received from revenue and borrowed upon the credit of the city; and what has been done with the money, to whom it has been paid and upon what considerations and pretense, in every instance.

"Resolved, That the citizens of the city have also a right to know, and are determined to ascertain, who are and have been on the pay-rolls of the City Government, what pay they receive and what services they render, as well as who have actually profited by the enormous payments of bills or accounts, obviously exceeding any value received by the city; who are represented by the fictitious names alleged to appear in these accounts, and to what extent any members of the present City Government are concerned, in real partnerships or under fictitious names, in the plunder of the public treasury.

"Resolved, That any legal remedy which is now available to citizens at large to fully ascertain and disclose frauds charged upon the city and county officers, and to recover the money wrongfully taken thereby from the public treasury, should be resorted to, and that if no such remedies are found to exist, then the law should be altered so as to enable citizens and tax-payers, under proper restrictions and regulations, to call officers intrusted by them with power and money to legal account, and to invoke the arm of justice to discover fraud in public officers and to prevent or redress the dishonest appropriation of public money.

"Resolved, That we appeal to the next Legislature of the State to repeal the charter and laws by which the present rulers of the city have obtained and perpetuated their power, and to give to the city of New York a form of government such as shall be devised or approved of by our wisest and best citizens, and shall enable us to secure an honest and efficient administration of the laws.

"Resolved, That the citizens of this city are earnestly entreated to make the reform of their own government the one controlling issue at the next election, to support no man for office, and especially for the Legislature of the State, no matter what may be his party name, who is not known to be both honest and incorruptible, and determined and distinctly pledged, so far as he is able, whatever may be the consequences, to reform the city of New York; and that our fellow-citizens throughout the State are entreated to join us in the effort to redress evils which concern them hardly less than ourselves.

"*Resolved*, That the public credit, character, and the business interests of this great and growing city imperatively demand that its citizens be kept fully and constantly informed of the issue of any public stock, bonds, or other evidences of debt binding the real or personal property of the city or its citizens; and further, that legal provision should be made for preventing any such issue not especially authorized, or exceeding the amount specifically appropriated for that purpose (by means, if necessary, of officers to be elected by the people of this city, in such manner as to secure the representation of the whole people, the minority as well as the majority).

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of the community are due to the public newspapers who have contributed to enlighten the public mind and to form and give utterance to public opinion upon these issues, and especially to the *New York Times*, for its fearless and searching investigation and exposure of the public accounts and of the conduct of the present officers of the city.

"*Resolved*, That an Executive Committee of seventy members be appointed by the President of this meeting, whose duty it shall be to take such measures as shall be necessary or expedient to carry out the objects for which we are assembled, to demand a full exhibition of all the accounts of the city and county, and an explicit statement of all the persons to whom, and the pretenses upon which the large payments of the past two years and a half have been made; to enforce any remedies which now exist to obtain this information if it is refused, and to recover whatever sums of money have been fraudulently or feloniously abstracted; and also to impress upon the Legislature and Governor of the State such measures of legislation and action as may be necessary or proper to enforce the existing laws, and to supply their defects, and to remove the cause of the present abuses; and finally, to assist, sustain, and direct an united effort, by the citizens of New York, without reference to party, to obtain a good government and honest officers to administer it; and the said committee are hereby authorized to call upon all citizens interested in good government to contribute such funds as may be needed to execute the powers intrusted to them, and also to fill vacancies and add to their number."

The Committee of Seventy, which, like the Vice-Presidents and Secretaries, was also composed of men of character and position, soon afterward met and organized by the selection of the following officers:

HENRY G. STEBBINS, *Chairman*.

WILLIAM F. HAVEMEYER, *Vice-Chairman*.

ROSWELL D. HATCH, *Secretary*.

EMIL SAUER, *Treasurer*.

A Committee on Address was appointed, of which Major J. M. Bundy was chairman, who reported "AN APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK," at a special meeting of the Committee of Seventy, held in

the rooms of the Chamber of Commerce on Saturday, September 23d. The Address was unanimously adopted, and ordered to be printed for general circulation, together with the resolutions adopted at the meeting in Cooper Union on the evening of September 4th, and the speech delivered thereat by the Hon. Robert B. Roosevelt, M. C.*

The appeal read as follows :

"On the 4th of this month the people of the City of New York assembled at Cooper Institute to give expression to the almost universal indignation that has been growing daily deeper against corrupt municipal officials. As this expression was deliberate and not spasmodic, it was not completed by the proceedings of the most earnest and enthusiastic meeting held in this city since 1861. Our best citizens, of both parties, felt that the hour had come when all lawful means must be used to redeem the city from plunderers and to restore her drooping credit. As the most effectual method of carrying out their purpose a Committee of Seventy was appointed, which now, as part of its work, addresses the people of this State, and calls upon them to do their share toward effecting a thorough and complete reform.

"What we have done here is known through the public press. What may and should be done elsewhere we propose to suggest, and from the stand-point of the wholly non-partisan movement which we represent. And at the outset we must say, that from the time of our appointment to the present this Committee has not misrepresented the sentiment of the meeting which called it into being.

"Some of the members of this Committee have been known by reputation to every intelligent voter of this State for many years, and their words will not be doubted when they say—as do all the Committee—that they have in all their deliberations faithfully represented the non-partisan spirit of the great body of citizens who conferred on them the high honor of serving as their spokesmen and agents. Not one word has been uttered in our most confidential intercourse that could be construed into proof of the slightest desire to use the power of this Committee for any partisan end. We should have been not only false to a most sacred trust, but untrue to the inspiration that has daily come to us in the earnest support of both Democrats and Republicans, had we failed to realize the nature of the righteous revolution which has brought us to the front.

"We have not so failed, but have given all the aid in our power to the honest members of the party which is dominant here, and which is peculiarly humiliated by scoundrels who have misused an honored party name as a cover for their villainies.

"We appeal to citizens of both parties to save us and the State from the possibility of another such degradation as has fallen on all of us, from Montauk

* For this speech see Appendix No. XI. This speech should be read in connection with the text.

Point to the westernmost and northernmost corners of New York. It lies easily in your power to so assert the honest manhood that ought to prevail in both parties, that no such Legislatures as those of the last few years will be possible during the rest of this century. No private business, no partisan end, can be so important to any right-minded citizen as the plain duties that are thrown on him by recent deplorable revelations. Unfit nominations for the Legislature cannot succeed, and are not likely to be made, in any district where honest men are alive and awake to the issues of this campaign. The money that has been accumulated from the spoils of the metropolis will be poured out like water to procure the election of purchasable legislators, but it will be spent in vain wherever the people are aroused by a few earnest leaders. All the wealth of our city could not bribe a thoroughly awakened people or divert them from their purpose. Whether aroused by the treason that is bold and armed, or by the meaner and fouler treason that makes the ballot a farce, law an instrument of fraud, and courts of justice a snare, the people are equal to the demand, and their loyalty and honesty are sure to conquer.

"A free and active and prosperous people like ours will endure many evils in their government; but there is no power on earth that is so irresistible or so fatal to wrong-doers as the public opinion which is finally sure to be roused by successive and growing enormities.

"The fountain can rise no higher than its source. When the people are apathetic, and demagogues and selfish schemers make a business of politics, there is no force to sustain our officials above the low level of indifference and easy morals. But the moral power of ten actively righteous men in every Assembly district would so raise the tone of local politics that no bad man could get his head high enough above the surface to command the support of either party.

"Official corruption has grown up as the result of the necessarily enormous expenses of a gigantic war, of an inflated currency, of the magnificent chances offered to private ambitions, of stock and gold gambling, and a universally spread passion for sudden wealth and idle display. It is an evil which has afflicted both parties and dragged them down from the high principles that gave them origin. Honest and earnest patriots will feel the common woes and humiliations that have been brought on us by the representatives of both parties, and will be enkindled to a doubly bitter hatred of the Achans that are in their own camp, and that have dragged their own banners in the mire of corruption.

"In this city, where one political party has had unchecked rule for so many years, and where millions could be stolen from the tax-payers without imposing extra burdens that were felt as onerous by so wealthy a constituency, it is not strange that prevailing corruption should have broken out in aggravated forms, nor that all the evil elements in our community should have finally been combined into an apparently irresistible phalanx. No such mass of bad material was elsewhere to be found waiting such a masterly alliance of corrupt leaders to develop all its resources of evil. Ignorance furnishes ready tools of a combination that included a political craft worthy of a depraved Macchiavelli, an earnestness of advocacy that was effective in spite of occasional buffooneries, a coarse brutality of power that awed and inspired ruffians and low natures, and a sort of cunning that was the sublimation of the skill of the sneak-thief. Given these elements, opportunities, and leaders, and the natural

result was the Ring, which, until lately, has robbed and stolen itself into power, which has bought Legislatures, controlled governors, corrupted newspapers, defiled courts of justice, violated the ballot-box, threatened all forms of civil and religious liberty, awed the timid rich, bribed the toiling masses, and cajoled respectable citizens, and which has finally grown so strong and reckless as to openly defy the intelligence and virtue which it believed to be inert, voiceless, and powerless to stay its aggressions or to assert the supremacy of honesty and justice.

"But you of the country must help us. This is your city, as truly as it is our own. We are your factors and business agents. If we are overburdened with taxes, you have to pay us the more for doing your business. The corruption of our municipal government could not have grown to its present gigantic proportions had our leaders of the Ring not found active support and willing material in bribable members of the Legislature elected by the rural districts. You must help us in our effort to purify our political life, and the one efficacious manner by which you can come to our relief is to elect honest men only to the next Legislature. If our city is disgraced by a senator who domineers among weaker villains by mere grossness and magnitude of scoundrelism, he has found willing tools among the false representatives of districts where one year of his stealings would be regarded as enormous wealth.

"There is no occasion for advice from this Committee as to the details of the great fight against all forms of official corruption which has made such cheering progress in this city. If the feeling which prevails among all our good citizens shall be shared by those who are further removed from the evils which at first appalled and then stung us into activity, earnest hearts will find ready means to incarnate honest purposes in noble actions, and to redeem the fair fame of our State for generations to come. We have tried to define the issue as it has pressed on us. If we have succeeded, and if you feel, as we do, that it is now the honest manhood of the State that is on trial, no combination of political tricksters can repress or even direct the swelling tide of popular indignation and resolve. In its presence all ordinary political issues will sink out of sight, and next November will witness a vindication of the manhood of the people of New York, as proud and momentous in its consequences as that which was attested when the State rose as one man at the call of a different form of patriotism.

"The cause of self-government is deeply involved in this campaign. Of what use was it for tens of thousands of our best and bravest to lay down their lives on distant fields, if our government—municipal, State, and national—are to fall into the hands of tricksters and thieves? Where is the demoralization to end that has made such appalling progress in the city of New York? Will even the local governments of the interior long withstand the inroads of corruption, when weak and bad men see it glittering with diamonds, reveling in private palaces, gaudy in equipages, and the master of the means of luxurious vice, in the metropolis of the State? How long will it be safe for you to intrust your business to a community that you will not help to rid of thieves, and where successful villainy sets dangerous examples to men of easy consciences, infirm purpose, and eager ambition? When the confidence that underlies all profitable human intercourse is sapped, in so far as concerns the relations between rulers and ruled among a quarter of the population of the

State, where and how is the process of decay and disease to stop? What other relations of trust between man and man will be long held sacred?

"We appeal especially to the vast reserve force of voters through whose criminal indifference to their political duties the shame and disgrace that we are now enduring has come upon us. At least one-third of the best classes of our people are habitually absent from the polls. The forces of evil are active, crafty, and resolute. They are already visible all over the State, in the shape of combinations to purchase votes for the Ring with offers of local benefits. We believe that the temper of the people is such that it will render all these schemes futile and disastrous to their authors. The honest people of this State have never before had such inspiration to redeem themselves from all the wiles of corruptionists and to teach them a lesson that will be remembered for generations to come. Never has the proud motto of our State been more appropriate than it will be if we do our duty this fall. In our glorious resurrection of public virtue the humiliations of the past will be forgotten as a hateful dream, and every institution of our society and politics will feel the elevating influences of revived confidence in honesty and justice."

Thus the matter rested until the morning of the 11th of September, when it was discovered(?) that the Comptroller's office at the City Hall had been broken open during the preceding night, and all the vouchers abstracted, to the number of more than thirty-five hundred, from their place of deposit.* The news of this robbery at once aroused such a storm of indignation from all classes, without distinction of party, that Mayor Hall, in a letter, immediately requested Mr. Connolly to resign his office of Comptroller. To this request, the latter returned a peremptory refusal, assigning as a reason, that for him to take such a step without impeachment, and a trial, and a conviction, would be tantamount to an acknowledgment of guilt. The day following, however, acting upon the advice of a prominent Democrat, viz., William H. Havemeyer, he appointed to the office of Deputy-Comptroller, Andrew H. Green. This appointment gave great satisfaction to the community, who now, for the first time, since the skein of corruption had begun to unravel,

* It may strike the reader as singular that, when about a hundred thousand dollars had been paid for safes for the new Court-house the vouchers were kept in a *glass-case*—from which place they were abstracted as mentioned in the text.

breathed more freely. Not only was Mr. Green a distinguished member of the Democratic party, but he had formerly and for a long time held the responsible position of Comptroller of the Central Park Commission, during which period, although daily handling large sums of money, his record was unsullied. Against him, suspicion, with her hundred tongues, had never whispered the slightest charge of venality. Soon after his assuming the duties of his office, he instituted an investigation into the "voucher robbery"—an investigation which resulted in the discovery of their charred remains in an old ash-heap in the attic of the City Hall. The supposed agents in this affair were arrested, indicted, and committed for trial without bail, but up to the present period remain untried. But Deputy-Comptroller Green did not stop here. He quickly lopped off the fungi which had been clinging to the city treasury in the form of *sinecure* offices; reduced all expenditures to the lowest point consistent with a safe administration of the finances; brought order out of chaos; and very soon saved large sums to the city.

Almost the first action of the Committee of Seventy was to procure an injunction from Judge Barnard, restraining, for the present, the payment of all moneys out of the city treasury. This order, however, was subsequently modified, so as to allow the payment of the laborers on the public works, and the progress and completion of permanent works, such as the receiving and distributing reservoirs, and the laying of mains, but forbidding the use of the moneys raised for such purposes for the ordinary expenses of the department. At the same time some of the largest banks—such was the confidence felt in the integrity of Andrew H. Green—advanced nearly a million dollars with which to meet the more pressing claims against the city, and enable the wheels of government to roll more smoothly.

The next step of the Committee was to present the Mayor for indictment before the Grand Jury. Here again the "Ring" endeavored to suborn justice, for it was presently discovered that the jury had evidently—as the technical phrase is—been "packed," from the foreman down, with relations and personal intimates of the person to be indicted. Upon this fact being brought to the notice of Judge Barnard, he immediately dismissed the jurors and ordered another "panel." The new "panel," however, failed, from lack of sufficient evidence, to bring in an indictment against the Mayor.

Proceeding in the work they had undertaken, the Committee next called upon the Governor of the State, and requested him to appoint Charles O'Connor to assist the Attorney-General in prosecuting the most prominent officers of the city government for malfeasance in office. In reply, the Governor stated that he had no power to take such action, but he would recommend that course to the Attorney-General. Thereupon the latter wrote a letter to Mr. O'Connor, empowering him to act for the State, and to employ such associates as he might deem proper. Hon. William M. Evarts, Wheeler H. Peckham, and Judge Emott were thereupon chosen by Mr. O'Connor as associates.

Mr. O'Connor and his associates at once went actively to work. On the 26th of October, William M. Tweed was arrested on the affidavit of Mr. Samuel J. Tilden, and held to bail in the sum of one million of dollars.*

* Divested of all legal forms, the facts set forth by Mr. Tilden in his affidavit were as follows: By the City Tax-Levy of 1870, section 4, the Mayor, the Comptroller, and the President of the Board of Supervisors were made a special Board of Audit, to decide upon all outstanding claims against the county of New York. Instead of auditing the claims, the Board delegated the duty of auditing the bills to Auditor James Watson, and directed the payment of whatever bills either Mr. Tweed or Mr. Joseph B. Young should certify as correct. The bills were collected, amounting to \$6,312,541.37, and were paid accordingly; the whole amount going to the immediate personal friends and

Meanwhile the State election for members of the Legislature, State officers, and Judges of the Supreme Court of the city took place on the 7th of November. Perhaps never in the city's history—excepting the ones held in 1768 and in the spring of 1800, when New York city decided the fate of John Adams*—had an election taken

associates of Mr. William M. Tweed, nearly the whole of it upon vouchers which were indorsed by Andrew J. Garvey, James H. Ingersoll, under the style of "Ingersoll & Company," or "E. A. Woodward." As each set of warrants was paid, Mr. E. A. Woodward, who acted throughout as the confidential agent of Mr. Tweed, deposited to the account of Tweed in the National Broadway Bank his share of spoils. When the warrants were paid to Ingersoll or Garvey, they uniformly made a payment of a large part of the money to Woodward; and a large part of this again was immediately deposited to the credit of Mr. Tweed. As this was done again and again, on twenty-six different days, and as all the transfers were made by drafts upon the same bank, the evidence was absolutely complete that Tweed shared in the proceeds of these fraudulent vouchers, audited and indorsed by him; and the amount of stolen money thus directly traced from the public treasury to the pockets of this one person, through the transactions of this *ad interim* Board alone, is no less than one million of dollars.

* The election of 1800, alluded to in the text, was probably the most bitter, personal, and hotly contested election that New York city has ever witnessed—and it was on this occasion that the remarkable spectacle was presented of Hamilton making speeches at the polls, and Burr dictating the Republican legislative ticket. The contests between the Federalists and the Republicans in the charter elections had gradually increased in bitterness, and the Federalists began gradually to lose ground. Thus, in the election of the preceding spring (1799), the Sixth and Seventh Wards were carried by the Federalist party; and, elated by their success, the victors put forth renewed efforts in the election of this year. "To evade the property qualification, requiring every voter to be a landholder, an association of thirty-three young men purchased a house and lot in the Fifth Ward, jointly on the principle of a Tontine, and having thus rendered themselves eligible according to law, presented themselves at the polls as Republican voters. The same scheme was adopted in the Fourth Ward by a club of seventy-one members. The election returns showed four wards for the Republicans and three for the Federalists; the Fifth Ward being carried in favor of the former by a majority of six, and the Fourth Ward by thirty-five. This result was at once contested by the Federalists, on the ground of illegal voting by the Tontine Association, and, on being submitted to the decision of the retiring board, the majority of which belonged to that party, was pronounced null and void, and the balance of power restored to the hands of the Federalists. The State election having been decided in favor of the Republicans by the election of ex-Governor George Clinton, Edward Livingston, the brother of the well-known Chancellor of that name, received the appointment of Mayor of New York," and the vote of *one* majority in the

place that was attended with more acrimony or greater excitement. Turning, as it did, on the frauds of the Tammany Ring, all classes of citizens, irrespective of party, were aroused. Merchants, almost to a man, closed their stores; and thousands who had not voted for years exercised on this occasion the right of franchise. Republicans and Democrats united to crush one of the wickedest conspiracies ever aimed against municipal integrity and life. The result was an overwhelming defeat of the "Ring." General Franz Sigel was elected Register by a majority of twenty-five thousand votes. All of the anti-Tammany judges were elected; and only one (Wm. M. Tweed) of the five Tammany Senators was successful. Of the twenty-one Assemblymen sent to the Legislature by the city, Tammany elected but seven; while all the anti-Tammany Aldermen were elected but two. Of the twenty-one Assistant Aldermen chosen, a majority were pledged to reform.

Tammany, however, did not yield without a desperate struggle. All her old tactics of "ballot-stuffing," and intimidation at the polls, with which she was wont to be successful heretofore, were employed. "In this city," says the *New York Tribune*, in commenting upon the election, "the frauds on election day in Tweed's district are understood to have been enormous, and the intimidation of voters was without parallel in recent years. It is no exaggeration to say that the ballots for O'Donovan Rossa were kept out of the boxes by sheer ruffianism; and in many precincts it was literally unsafe to vote against the 'Boss.' Anti-Tammany voters were beaten and driven away from the polls, and there seems to be ground for charging that some of the police were in collusion with the assailants. If Tweed were allowed to take his seat in the

electoral college, consequent upon the result of the New York State election, gave the Presidency to Jefferson instead of to Adams,

Senate on the strength of an election like this, the principles of free republican government would receive a worse blow than from the theft of twenty millions of dollars.”*

The effects of the election were soon apparent. Members of the Ring who, up to this time, had been defiant, became crestfallen; several of the most prominent of them

* To the same effect, Mr. Melville D. Landon, a perfectly credible journalist, wrote the next day after the election, in the *Commercial Advertiser*, as follows:

“The disgraceful scenes, the ruffianly assaults, the dishonest repeating, fraudulent voting, and final surrender of the ballot-boxes in this Tweed ward cannot be described. I am not writing about what I heard or read in the newspapers, but I state what I saw with my own eyes.

“I saw drunken men come into the second voting precinct—not with Republican votes, for such a man would have been assaulted in three minutes, but with the ticket of the Committee of Seventy, including O'Donovan Rossa, and lay them on the ballot-boxes.

“I saw Edward Coppers, a low, vulgar scoundrel, acting as inspector, snap these votes off, and before the eyes of Michael Costello, the only Republican who dared to stay in the room, deposit Tweed votes.

“I saw four policemen, among whom was a contemptible scoundrel of the name of Francis O'Rourke, connive at these frauds.

“I saw thief after thief come in, whom Mr. Costello knew to be voting fraudulently, and their votes were received by their associate thief, Coppers, and deposited unchallenged.

“I saw brave Michael Costello challenge one brutal repeater, and then I saw five scoundrels assault him, and drag him to the ground, while four policemen stood by and saw it done.

“Then I saw Francis O'Rourke march this innocent brave Republican challenger to the station-house, and falsely accuse him of assault, when he knew he was telling a villainous lie.

“Then I saw Michael Costello in a cold, damp, stone cell, looking, like a felon, out of an iron gate.

“Shall this scoundrel police officer, Francis O'Rourke, go free—shall he still remain on the police force?

“After this I saw the ballot-boxes in the hands of thieves and repeaters. Every Republican vote was rejected unless it was disguised. Only Tweed votes were received.

“After this, H. G. Leask, of the ‘Committee of Seventy,’ sent Patrick Elliff to take Michael Costello's place. He was assaulted and driven away from the polls, and Mr. Leask's son was also abused and struck. The mob of thieves and roughs now attacked Mr. Leask's store, which was defended by police.

“To this the writer proposes to testify when Wm. M. Tweed asks for his seat in Albany next winter. This morning I see this voting precinct gave 346 votes for Tweed and only 43 against him, when it cast 48 Republican votes for Woodford in 1870.”

hastened to hand in their resignations of important positions which they held; and, finally, on the 20th of November, Richard B. Connolly resigned his office as Comptroller in favor of Andrew H. Green, who was at once appointed to the vacancy by the Mayor.* With this memorable election the curtain fell upon the play which Tammany had so long kept upon the political boards, to rise again under very different management.

On the 25th of November ex-Comptroller Connolly was arrested on substantially the same charges as his colleague in public office, William M. Tweed, and was also held to bail in the same sum; but, not so fortunate as the latter, he was unable to obtain the requisite amount of bail, and, on the 29th of November, was committed to the Ludlow Street Jail, where he remained until the last day of the year. On the 16th of December the Grand Jury indicted William M. Tweed for felony. On his way to the Tombs, however, he was rescued by a writ of *habeas corpus*; and, upon being taken before Judge Barnard, was released on

* Undoubtedly, one of the principal results of the election will be the creating of a new charter for the city. In framing one, the leading idea, says the *New York Times*, should be so "to reduce the profits of office-holding, that the professional politicians and place-hunters will be forced to abandon their corrupt and corrupting avocation. Every officer under the City Government should receive a fixed salary, and in no case should he be allowed to pocket any of the fees connected with his office. So far as possible all fees should be abolished, and, wherever they are collected, they should be promptly turned over to the City Treasury. As for the subordinate offices, such as clerkships and the like, it would be well if they could be made permanent and independent of political changes. Civil service reform is now agitating the minds of the best men in the country of both parties, and is looked forward to as the cure for the worst evils of our politics. The Republican Party now administering the National Government has taken the initiative in this much-needed reform. Why should not the same party, which will have entire control of the next Legislature, second the efforts of their representatives in the General Government, and anticipate them in making a practical trial of the experiment? No better place could be found to test the virtues of civil service reform than the City of New York; for nowhere else have the evils of the old system wrought such wide-spread corruption, and produced such demoralization of political parties as here."

the trifling sum of five thousand dollars bail. At length, on Friday, the 29th day of December, Mr. Tweed, forced to the step by the power of public opinion, resigned his office of Commissioner of Public Works, George Van Nort, a gentleman of large experience and high standing, being appointed to fill the vacancy. On the same day that this resignation was sent in, Mayor Hall was prohibited by a writ from Judge Brady from reappointing or recognizing the old Common Council; while, to complete the final downfall of the "Ring," William M. Tweed, spurned by nearly all of his fair-weather friends, was ejected from the position of Grand Sachem of the Tammany Society—Augustus Schell being elected to his place by acclamation.*

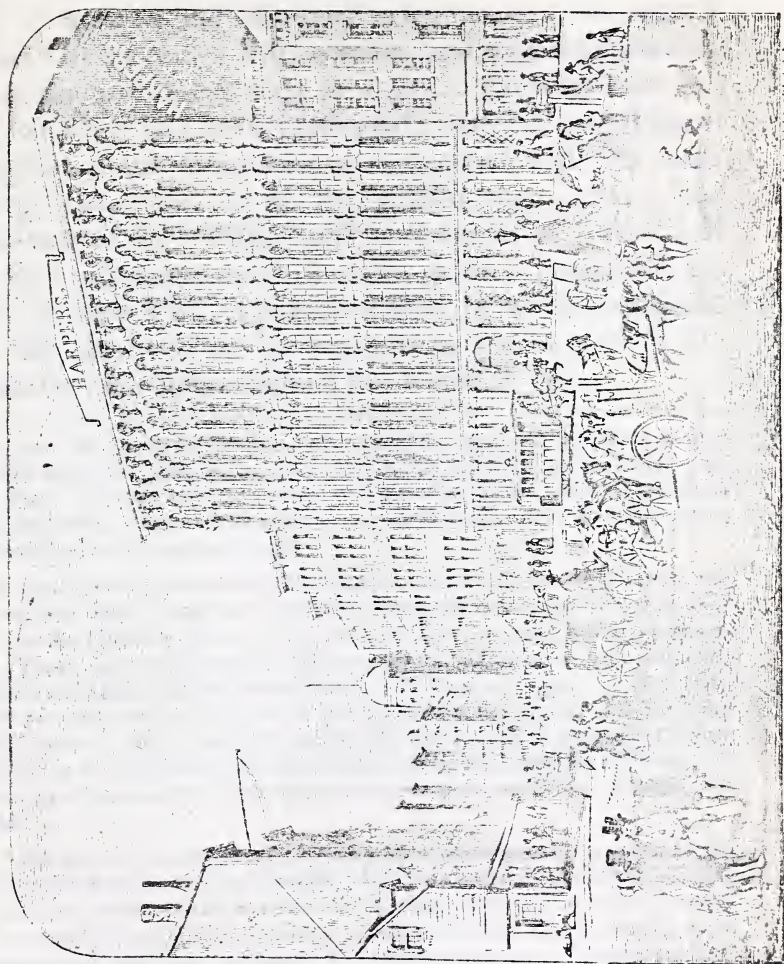
Upon the assembling of the Legislature at Albany on the 1st of January, 1872, the Committee of Seventy forwarded a petition to the Senate praying for the expulsion of Wm. M. Tweed from his seat in that body; and
 1872. here, at the present time of writing (February 1st, 1872), the matter rests. The "Tammany Ring has been broken into fragments." Tweed is under heavy bonds to answer for various charges; Connolly and other subordinate, though probably not less guilty, leaders, keep out of the public view; James Fisk, Jr.,† is in his grave—

* As an illustration of the unstableness of power and influence, especially when not founded upon principles of rectitude, the reader can compare the position held by Mr. Tweed now (1872) with the one held by him only a few months since, when, at the wedding of his daughter, nearly \$100,000 worth of gifts was presented to the latter by her father's political and personal admirers. At the close of Appendix No. XI. a partial list of these presents is given, both as a curious bit of history and as a "sign" of the "times." No propriety is violated by this publication, since the list was printed at the time, purposely, by the family in nearly all of the city papers.

For the act of incorporation of the Tammany Society see Appendix No. XII.

† On Sunday, the 7th of January, 1872, James Fisk, Jr., died from the effects of a pistol shot received at the hands of Edward S. Stokes, on the afternoon previous, in the Grand Central Hotel.

It may, at first, seem singular that Fisk is mentioned in the text in connec-



HARPER & BROTHERS' BUILDING

having come to a violent end by unlawful means; and the names of the chief actors in the Tammany frauds are literally a "by-word and a hissing" to the "ends of the earth." * What further course will be taken, and with what results, cannot now with certainty be stated. Already, however, a good work has been performed; and the probabilities are, that if the Committee push matters with the same energy they have up to the present time evinced, the members of the "Ring" will be brought to justice, and forced to disgorge their ill-gotten gains. Then shall the City of New York, it is to be hoped, be as distinguished for the purity of her government, as she now is for her liberality, her influence, and her wealth.†

tion with the Tammany leaders. Investigation, however, points to him as having, with the "Erie Ring," been thoroughly identified with them in sundry ways. At least such is the prevailing public opinion, shown by the fact that his death is universally accepted as another sign of the utter disruption and ruin of the "Tammany Ring."

* Chief among the causes which undoubtedly led to the overthrow of the "Tammany Ring" were the caricatures or cartoons which appeared from time to time in *Hurper's Weekly*. The effects of these, by bringing the leaders of the "Ring" into justly merited ridicule, cannot, perhaps, be over-estimated. Indeed, in all ages, before the invention of printing, and since, "picture writing" has been one of the most effectual weapons for moving and directing public opinion. Every one will perceive the power of these methods of giving expression to suppressed opinion, especially upon the ignorant multitude, by reflecting what has often been the effect of a good caricature upon his own mind.

† Before closing the record of this year allusion should be made to the "Westfield disaster." The *Westfield*, which was a ferry-boat plying between the city and Staten Island, exploded her boilers just as she was on the point of leaving Whitehall Slip on Sunday, the 30th of July. One hundred and six persons were killed, and one hundred and fifty injured, many of them for life.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE History of New York City has now been brought down to a period within the recollection of almost the youngest inhabitant. The limits of this work will
1872. not permit me to speak at length of the causes which have led to the commercial and local prosperity of New York; the part taken by her publishing-houses in the dissemination of much that is good and beautiful and true in American literature;* the position won for

* Chief among these may be mentioned the house of *Virtue & Yorston*, which, though a branch of the great house of *Virtue & Co.*, London, can with propriety be called thoroughly *American*, from the fact of its having been instrumental, more, perhaps, than any similar house, in making the public familiar with American scenery. On this account a brief sketch of this firm belongs to the history of the city.

The house of *Virtue & Yorston* was first established in New York, in 1834, under the name of *R. Martin & Co.*, and, in 1835, opened at 69 Barclay Street. Thence it was removed to Broadway, between Maiden Lane and Liberty, and, shortly after, to 26 John Street, where—Mr. Martin retiring—it became *G. Virtue & Co.* Upon the business being removed, in 1863, to 12 Dey Street (see engraving on opposite page), where it still remains, the name of the firm was again changed to the present one of *Virtue & Yorston*. Mr. Yorston, the junior partner, having long been connected with the establishment of *G. Virtue & Co.*, in England, was peculiarly fitted for his work. He had also, for a series of years, extensively canvassed for those books which have given this house a world-wide reputation (among these, *Views in Switzerland*, and the *Vernon Gallery*), and was thoroughly conversant with the wants of the American public.

It has been said that the house of *Virtue & Yorston* has always been peculiarly American. It was while the firm was established on Broadway that Bartlett prepared and finished his sketches for the great work of himself and N. P. Willis upon the scenery of the United States and Canada—books which



VIRTUE & YORSTON'S BUILDING

her in letters by Sands and Halleck and Bryant and Bancroft; her School of Painting, fostered in its earlier days by Trumbull, Jarvis, Henry Inman* and Ingham, and in its later ones by Church, Bierstadt, Page, Richards, Huntington, Elliott, Kensett, and others equally distinguished; her School of Sculpture, represented by Brown, Thompson, and Ward; the nature and extent of her benevolent institutions,† and the character of her "merchant princes." Wealth *in itself* is no evidence of a city's prosperity, and therefore I do not refer to those of her rich men who are distinguished for that alone, and whose names will readily suggest themselves to the reader. But we, as citizens, do take pride in pointing to men whose immense wealth is guided and controlled by the principles of evangelical religion. Of this latter class are Marshall O. Roberts, William E. Dodge, S. B. Schieffelin, Moses H. Grinnell—and others of similar character—men who are distinguished alike for their christian virtues and purity of life, and for their unparalleled business success. While, moreover, I have been compelled, as a faithful historian, to recount a few events that must ever remain foul

still remain the best authorities on the subjects of which they treat. This house, also, was the first to inspire the American public with a taste for handsomely illustrated works. *The Great Civil War*, *The Battles of America by Sea and Land*, illustrated with fifty-one steel engravings, and *The History of the United States*, with ninety steel engravings, are familiar to all lovers of American history. Among the works which have been introduced by them, and which have tended greatly to cultivate a taste for art in this country, may be mentioned "The Art Journal," one of the most superb works that have ever been published; "Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland," with one hundred and twenty engravings on steel; "Ireland, its Scenery and Character," illustrated with over six hundred engravings; "Piedmont and Italy;" "Switzerland;" "The Beauties of the Bosphorus;" "Scotland;" "Gems of European Art;" "Royal Gems from the Galleries of Europe;" "The Wilkie Gallery;" "The Vernon Gallery;" and "The Turner Gallery."

* For Personal Reminiscences of Inman see Appendix No. XIII.

† For a full account of the aims and nature of the benevolent institutions of New York City, the reader is referred to a book exclusively devoted to that subject, published by E. B. Treat & Co.

blots upon the otherwise bright escutcheon of the city, I would far rather dwell upon pleasanter themes—the founding of the INSTITUTION FOR THE DEAF AND DUMB,* and the SOCIETY FOR THE REFORMATION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS—the establishment of that noble work, the YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION—the course taken by the city during the late civil war, in which she led the van in every movement having for its object either the support of the Government or the relief of its brave defenders†—the dinner given to Charles Dickens, under the auspices

* "Colonel Stone," writes Harvey P. Peet, the President of the New York Deaf and Dumb Asylum, to the author, "entered with characteristic zeal into the effort to build up a superior institution for the deaf and dumb in New York. To his influence is due, in large measure, my selection for the position of principal, and I ascribe *much* of the success which crowned my labors to his ready sympathy and encouragement, and his intelligent and zealous co-operation. From the time I became principal of the institution, in 1831, to his death in 1841, he was *the* man, of all others, on whom I most relied for aid in urging the claims of our institution on the people of our city and State. He was constant in his attendance at our public exhibitions, ever ready and felicitous in suggesting tests of the acquirements of the pupils, and ever prepared with appropriate anecdotes to be related by signs and translated into written languages, so that it always seemed that much of the popular interest of those occasions was owing to him. The editor of a journal of wide circulation and extensive influence, especially among the more wealthy and benevolent classes, he was eminently successful in his appeals to benevolence—and that because of the confidence generally felt both in his goodness of heart and in his discrimination. . . .

"As a director of this institution, his quick intelligence and sound judgment enabled him to appreciate the value of suggestions for improvements, and his influence with the Board could always be relied on to secure their adoption, at the same time that his rare good sense preserved him from the error of some men of undoubted philanthropy, who, in a similar situation, have thought that theories formed in the closet might be made to overrule a life-long professional experience. He was a liberal donor to the library of the institution, and his newspaper was always sent free for the use of our teachers and pupils. His example and influence, moreover, obtained for it frequent donations of books and periodicals. The value of such gifts to an institution like ours needs no comment."

† Chief among these was the Great Metropolitan Fair, held in the city in the spring of 1864, for the benefit of the United States Sanitary Commission, and which netted \$1,000,000 for the relief of the soldiers—a sum exceeding that produced by all other fairs, for the same purpose, in the country.

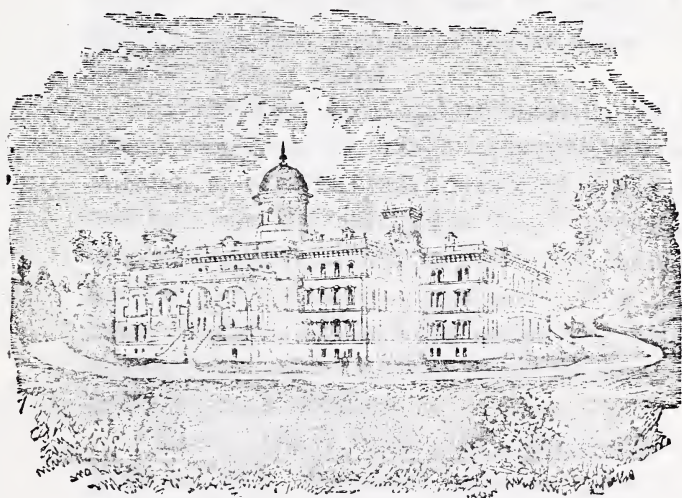
blots upon the otherwise bright escutcheon of the city, I would far rather dwell upon pleasanter themes—the founding of the INSTITUTION FOR THE DEAF AND DUMB,* and the SOCIETY FOR THE REFORMATION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS—the establishment of that noble work, the YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION—the course taken by the city during the late civil war, in which she led the van in every movement having for its object either the support of the Government or the relief of its brave defenders†—the dinner given to Charles Dickens, under the auspices

* "Colonel Stone," writes Harvey P. Peet, the President of the New York Deaf and Dumb Asylum, to the author, "entered with characteristic zeal into the effort to build up a superior institution for the deaf and dumb in New York. To his influence is due, in large measure, my selection for the position of principal, and I ascribe *much* of the success which crowned my labors to his ready sympathy and encouragement, and his intelligent and zealous co-operation. From the time I became principal of the institution, in 1831, to his death in 1841, he was *the* man, of all others, on whom I most relied for aid in urging the claims of our institution on the people of our city and State. He was constant in his attendance at our public exhibitions, ever ready and felicitous in suggesting tests of the acquirements of the pupils, and ever prepared with appropriate anecdotes to be related by signs and translated into written languages, so that it always seemed that much of the popular interest of those occasions was owing to him. The editor of a journal of wide circulation and extensive influence, especially among the more wealthy and benevolent classes, he was eminently successful in his appeals to benevolence—and that because of the confidence generally felt both in his goodness of heart and in his discrimination.

"As a director of this institution, his quick intelligence and sound judgment enabled him to appreciate the value of suggestions for improvements, and his influence with the Board could always be relied on to secure their adoption, at the same time that his rare good sense preserved him from the error of some men of undoubted philanthropy, who, in a similar situation, have thought that theories formed in the closet might be made to overrule a life-long professional experience. He was a liberal donor to the library of the institution, and his newspaper was always sent free for the use of our teachers and pupils. His example and influence, moreover, obtained for it frequent donations of books and periodicals. The value of such gifts to an institution like ours needs no comment."

† Chief among these was the Great Metropolitan Fair, held in the city in the spring of 1864, for the benefit of the United States Sanitary Commission, and which netted \$1,000,000 for the relief of the soldiers—a sum exceeding that produced by all other fairs, for the same purpose, in the country.

of the Press, on the 18th of April, 1868—the erection of the statue to Samuel F. B. Morse in the Central Park, in 1870—the generous welcome extended to the Russian Duke Alexis by the citizens of New York, in the winter of 1871—and the unveiling of the Franklin statue in Printing House Square, on the 17th of January, 1872. The details of these events, however, are too well known to need recapitulation here. A brief retrospective glance,



DEAF AND DUMB ASYLUM.

or rather a comparison between old and modern New York, will therefore conclude this history. Nor, perhaps, can this be done better than by giving at length a few of the closing passages of Dr. Osgood's admirable address, delivered before the New York Historical Society, on the occasion of its sixty-second anniversary, in November, 1866:

"In 1796 taxes were light, being about one-half of one

per cent.; and in that year the whole tax raised was £7,968, and the whole valuation of property was £1,261,585—estimates that were probably about half the real value, so that the tax was only about one-fourth of one per cent. A man worth \$50,000 was thought rich, and some fortunes reached \$250,000. Mechanics had a dollar a day for wages, and a genteel house rented for \$350 a year, and \$750 additional would meet the ordinary expenses of living for a genteel family—such as now spends from \$6,000 to \$10,000, we have good reason to believe, from such authority as Mr. D. T. Valentine, Clerk of the Common Council. A good house could be bought for \$3,000 or \$4,000, and flour was four and five dollars a barrel, and beef ten cents a pound.

“There were great entertainments, and men ate and drank freely—more freely, apparently, than now—but nothing of present luxury prevailed in the high classes; and how rare the indulgence was, is proved by the common saying, that ‘the Livingstons give champagne,’ which marked their case as exceptional. Now, surely, a great many families in New York besides the Livingstons give champagne, and not always wisely for their own economy or their guests’ sobriety.

“These homely items give a familiar idea of old New York in 1801. We must remember that it was then a provincial city, and had nothing of its present back-country connection with the West, being the virtual capital of the Hudson River Valley rather than that of the great Empire State. Buffalo, Syracuse, Utica, and the noted cities of Western New York were but names then, and Albany was of so little business note that the main communication with it was by dilatory sloops, such as Irving describes after his slow voyage in the craft that he long waited for, and which gave him ample time to study the picturesque on the Hudson, with such food for his humor

as the Captain's talk in Dutch to his crew of negro slaves. What a contrast with a trip now in the *St. John* or the *Dean Richmond*—marine palaces that float you, as in a dream by night, through the charmed passes of the Hudson to Albany!

* * * * *

"The New York churches were strong; but the clergy were little given to speculative thinking, and no commanding thinker appeared among them, such as abounded in New England. They kept the old creeds and usages with a strength that awed down dissent, and with a benign temper that conciliated favor. Latitudinarian tendencies were either suppressed or driven into open hostility with the popular creeds under deistical or atheistical teachers. In all, the congregations numbered thirty, and the Jews had one synagogue. Even the most radical congregation in the city, the Universalists, held mainly to the old theological views, and had only one point of peculiar doctrine, and even with this single exception, and with all the orthodox habits, they had only a lay organization in 1801, and were without a regular minister till 1803.

"The Dutch Reformed, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Methodists, numbered each five congregations; the Baptists, three; the Friends, two; the Lutherans, two; the Roman Catholics, Huguenots, Moravians, and Universalists, one each. Some writers erroneously assign seven churches, instead of five, to the Episcopalians in 1801, by claiming for them the Huguenot Church Du Saint Esprit, which was established in 1704, and acceded to the Episcopal Church in 1804; and Zion Church, which was established by the Lutherans in 1801, and joined the Episcopal communion in 1810.

"As far as we can judge, the Presbyterian clergy had most of the new American culture of the severer kind, and Drs. Samuel Miller and John M. Mason were the

intellectual leaders of the New York pulpit. The only man to be named with them in popular influence was John Henry Hobart, who was ordained in 1801, consecrated Bishop in 1811, and who, in spite of his extreme views of Episcopal prerogative, is to be named among the fathers of the American Church, and a good specimen of what old Trinity Church has done to unite patriotism with religion.

"The Episcopal Church had much accomplishment in its clergy, and Bishop Prevoost, who received ordination in England, was a man of extensive knowledge; and Dr. Livingston, of the Dutch Church, was a good match for him in learning and dignity. It is said that when these clerical magnates met on Sundays and exchanged salutations, they took up the entire street, and reminded beholders of two frigates under full sail, exchanging salutes with each other.

* * "We may regard old New York as culminating in the year 1825, with the completion of the Erie Canal; and that great jubilee that married this city to the mighty West began a new era of triumph and responsibility that soon proved that the bride's festival is followed by the wife's cares and the mother's anxieties. New York had become the national city, and was so for a quarter of a century more, and then she became cosmopolitan, European as well as American, and obviously one of the few leading cities of the world—the third city of Christendom. We may fix this change upon the middle of the century as well as upon any date, and call the time from 1850 till now her cosmopolitan era. The change of course, was gradual, and the great increase of the city dates from the close of the Revolutionary War and the evacuation of the city by the British troops. The population doubled nearly in the ten years after 1790, and went from 33,000 to 60,000. In 1825 it reached 166,085, and in 1850 rose to 515,515.

All this increase could not but bring a new sense of power, and throughout all the bewildering maze of the old New York politics we can see traces of the desire of the people and their leaders to dispute the palm of empire with Virginia and its old dominion.

* * "The introduction of gas and of the Croton water were grand illustrations of the power of organized industry, and mighty aids in throwing light, health, and purity into the lives of the people; and the rise of the great popular daily journals that almost created the national press of America made an era in the free fellowship of public thought. The city pushed its triumphal march forward during that period from Bleecker Street to Madison Square, and vainly tried to halt its forces at Washington and Union Squares, or to pause long anywhere on the way of empire. The whole period would make an important history of itself, and our task now is with the New York of to-day, as it has risen into cosmopolitan rank since 1850—the year which gave us a line of European steamers of our own, and opened the Golden Gate of California to our packets.

"Look at our city now in its extent, population, wealth, institutions, and connections; and consider how far it is doing its great work, under God's providence, as the most conspicuous representative of the liberty of the nineteenth century in its hopes and fears. You are too familiar with the figures and facts that show the largeness of the city to need any minute or extended summary of recapitulation. That we are not far from a million of people on this island, that began the century with sixty thousand; that the valuation of property, real and personal,* has

* The valuation of property in New York city represented by the census on the 30th of June, 1871, was \$769,302,250 of real, and \$306,947,223 of personal estate.

For the value of real and personal estate at the present time, as well as the

risen since 1805 from \$25,000,000 to \$736,988,058; that the real value of property here is about \$1,000,000,000, or a thirtieth part of the entire property of Great Britain; that our taxes within that time have risen from \$127,000 to \$16,950,767, over four and a half millions more than our whole national expenditure in 1801; that our banking capital is over \$90,000,000, and the transactions of our Clearing Houses, for the year ending October 1st, 1866, were over \$29,000,000,000; that our Savings Banks have 300,000 depositors and \$77,000,000 of deposits; that our one hundred and eight Fire Insurance Companies and thirty-eight Fire Agencies have a capital of \$47,560,000, and our eighteen Life Insurance Companies a capital of \$2,938,000, whose premiums last year (1865) were nearly \$9,000,000; that by the census of 1865 the number of dwellings was 49,844, and the value of them was \$423,096,918; that this city, by the census of 1860, returned a larger manufacturing product than any other city in the Union, and more than any State, except New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania—the sum total of \$159,107,369, from raw material worth \$96,177,038 in 4,375 establishments, with 90,204 operatives, and \$61,212,757 capital, and manufactured nearly one-eleventh of the sum total of the United States manufactures in 1860, which was \$1,885,861,676; that in twenty years we exported, from September 1st, 1846, to September 1st, 1866, to Europe, over 27,000,000 barrels of flour, over 164,000,000 bushels of wheat, 127,000,000 bushels of corn, nearly 5,000,000 bushels of rye; that the receipts for customs in this port for 1865 were \$101,772,905; that this city is the great gold market of the world, and in 1865 received \$61,201,108, and exported over \$30,000,000 abroad, and received in twelve years, 1854 to 1866, from San Fran-

financial resources generally of New York city beginning of 1872 see Governor Hoffman's Message, in Appendix No. XIV.

cisco, \$375,558,659 in gold ; that our shipping, registered and enrolled in 1865, amounted in tonnage to 1,223,264 tons, and the number of arrivals of vessels in this port in 1865 was 12,634, of these 2,078 being steamers ; that our exports for the year 1865 were \$208,630,282, and our imports were \$224,742,419 ; that on an average thirty-five tons of mail matter are received here for our citizens, and fifty-five tons are sent out daily ; that the average number of mail-bags received is three hundred and eighty-five, and the average number sent out is seven hundred and thirteen ; that within three years and a half the mail correspondence of our citizens has doubled ; that the number of letters and newspapers collected by the carriers for the quarter ending December 31st, 1865, was over 3,000,000, and the number delivered by them was over 3,600,000, and the deliveries from post-office boxes for the same quarter were over 5,000,000 ; that the increase of letters is so marvelous that New York may soon rival London, which in 1862 received by mail 151,619,000 letters. These and the like plain statistics are sufficient to prove the imperial wealth and power of New York, and to startle us with the problem of its prospective growth, when we remember that $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. increase, which has been generally the actual rate of increase, will give us a population of some 4,000,000 at the close of the century.

* * "Let us pass in review the industrial army of the city, which General Barlow, Secretary of State, allows me to copy from the unpublished census of 1865, and let us imagine it divided into regiments, thus, of about a thousand persons each :

Blacksmiths, over two and one-half.....	regiments or	2,621
Bookbinders, over one.....	"	1,134
Boiler Makers, nearly one.	"	910
Boot and Shoe Makers, over six.....	"	6,307
Butchers, four.....	"	3,998

Brokers, one and one-third.....	regiments or	1,248
Barbers, one.....	"	1,054
Cabinet Makers and Dealers, two and one-half.....	"	2,575
Carpenters, over six.....	"	6,352
Cartmen and Draymen, four and one-half.....	"	4,675
Clerks, seventeen and one-half.....	"	17,620
Clergy, nearly one-half.....	"	429
Confectioners, nearly one.....	"	756
Cooks, one.....	"	906
Coopers, one and one-half.....	"	1,401
Dressmakers, etc., nine and one-half.....	"	9,501
Drivers, nearly two.....	"	1,895
Engineers, over one.....	"	1,196
Grocers, one.....	"	937
Hat and Cap Makers, one and one-half.....	"	1,438
Jewelers, one.....	"	925
Laborers, twenty-one and one-quarter.....	"	21,231
Laundresses, three and one-half.....	"	3,590
Lawyers, one and one-fourth.....	"	1,232
Merchants, six.....	"	5,978
Machinists, three.....	"	3,108
Masons, three.....	"	2,757
Milliners, one and one-third.....	"	1,334
Musicians, nearly one.....	"	809
Painters and Glaziers, four.....	"	3,801
Peddlers, two.....	"	1,988
Physicians, one and one-fourth.....	"	1,269
Piano Makers, nearly one.....	"	855
Plumbers, one.....	"	1,108
Police, one and one-half.....	"	1,546
Porters, nearly three.....	"	2,729
Printers, two.....	"	2,186
Saddlers and Harness Makers, one.....	"	915
Sailors and Marines, over three.....	"	3,288
Servants, thirty-three.....	"	33,282
School Children, one hundred.....	"	100,000
Ship Carpenters, one.....	"	1,156
Stone Cutters, one and one-third.....	"	1,342
Tailors, ten.....	"	9,734
Teachers, over one and one-half.....	"	1,608
Tinsmiths, one.....	"	931

" These occupations and others that I might present from the voluminous pages of the census reckon about 150,000 of the people, and with school-children a quarter of a million.*

* The reader must bear in mind that the above figures were taken in 1865. Doubtless the next census will show a larger increase.

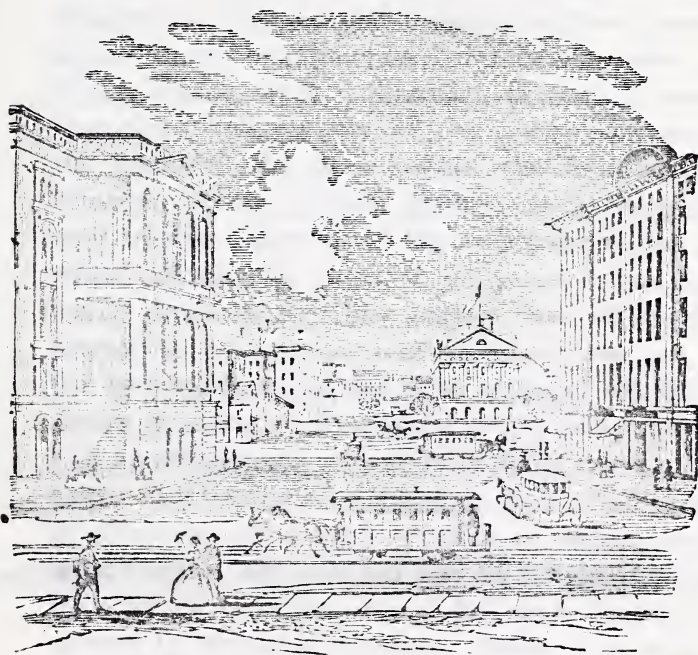
* * "The marvelous growth of population, within twenty years, has added half a million to our numbers, and called, of course, for new measures, and ought to be some excuse for some mistakes and disappointments. The charter bears the mark of many changes, and is destined to bear more. The original charter was given by James II. in 1686; was amended by Queen Anne in 1708; further enlarged by George II. in 1730, into what is now known as Montgomery's Charter, and as such was confirmed by the General Assembly of the Province in 1732, and made New York essentially a free city. The Mayor was appointed by the Provincial Governor and Council, till the Revolution; by the State Governor and four members of the Council of Appointment, till 1821; by the Common Council, until 1834, and afterward by the people. In 1830, the people divided the Common Council into two boards, and in 1849 the government was divided into seven departments, the heads of each being chosen by the people, and the Mayor's term of office being extended to two years. In 1853, the Board of Assistant Aldermen was changed to a Board of sixty Councilmen, and the term of Aldermen extended to two years. In 1857, the number of Aldermen was reduced from twenty-two to seventeen, and the sixty Councilmen to twenty-four.

* * "With all the drawback of defective municipal government, the city is a great power in the Union, and gave its wealth and men to the nation. Nay, its very passion has been national, and the mass who deplored the war never gave up the Union, and might, perhaps, have consented to compromise rather than to disunion, and have gone beyond any other city in clinging to the Union as such, whether right or wrong. The thoughtful mind of the city saw the true issue, and, whilst little radical or *doctrinaire* in its habit of thinking, and more

inclined to trust to historical tendencies and institutional discipline for the removal of wrong than to abstract ideas, it did not waver a moment after the die was cast, and the blow of rebellion and disunion was clear. The ruling business powers of the city gave money and men to the nation, when the Government was halting and almost paralyzed. The first loan was hazardous, and the work of patriotism; and when our credit was once committed, the wealth of the city was wholly at the service of the nation; and the ideas of New England, and the enthusiasm of the West, marched to victory with the mighty concurrence of the money and the men of the Empire City and State. The State furnished 473,443 men, or, when reduced to years of service, 1,148,604 years' service; equal to three years' service of 382,868 three years' men; and the city alone furnished 116,382 men, equal to 267,551 years' service, at a net cost of \$14,577,214.65. That our moneyed men meant devoted patriotism, it is not safe to say of them all. In some cases, their capital may have been wiser and truer than the capitalist, and followed the great current of national life. Capital, like water, whose currents it resembles, has its own laws, and he who owns it cannot change its nature, any more than he who owns a water-power can change the power of the water. The capital of this city is bound, under God, to the unity of the nation, and, therefore, has to do a mighty part in organizing the liberty of the nineteenth century. Led by the same large spirit, and true to the Union policy which has been the habit of the community from the old Dutch times, the dominant thought of our people will be sure to vindicate the favorite idea of States Rights in the Union against States Wrongs out of it.

* * "And how shall we estimate the education of our people in its various forms; by schools, colleges, newspapers, books, churches, and, not least, by this great uni-

versity of human life which is always before our eyes! Think of the 208,309 scholars reported in 1865 in our public schools, and the average attendance of 86,674 in those schools, and over 100,000 scholars in regular attendance in all our schools, both public and private.* Think of our galleries of art, private and public, and our



COOPER INSTITUTE, MERCANTILE LIBRARY, AND BIBLE HOUSE.

great libraries and reading-rooms, like the Astor, the Mercantile, the Society, and the Cooper Institute. Consider the remarkable increase of private libraries, such as Dr.

* For a History of the Schools and the Public School Society, by Hon. Hooper C. Van Vorst, see Appendix No. XV

Wynne has but begun to describe in his magnificent volume. Think of our press, and its constant and enormous issues, especially of daily papers, which are the peculiar literary institution of our time, and alike the common school and university of our people. Our 350 churches and chapels, 258 of them being regular churches of all kinds, can accommodate about 300,000 hearers, and inadequate as in some respects they are, as to location and convenience, they can hold as many of the people as wish to attend church, and far more than generally attend. Besides our churches and chapels, we have powerful religious instrumentalities in our religious press, and our city is the center of publication of leading newspapers, magazines, and reviews, of the great denominations of the country. In these organs the best scholars and thinkers of the nation express their thoughts in a way wholly unknown at the beginning of the century, when the religious press of the country was not apparently dreamed of. The higher class of religious and theological reviews that are published here are, perhaps, the best specimens of the most enlarged scholarship and severe thinking of America, and are doing much to educate an enlightened and truly catholic spirit and fellowship. If the question is asked, in view of all these means of education, what kind of mind is trained up here; or what are the indications of our New York intelligence, it may not be so easy to say in full, as to throw out a hint or two by way of suggestion. There is, certainly, what may be called a New York mind and character, and there must be from the very nature of the case. Some characteristics must mark each community, as the results of birth and breeding; and however great the variety of elements, some qualities must predominate over others in the people, as in the climate and fruits of a country. Where two tendencies seem to balance each other for a

time, one is sure, at last, to preponderate, and to gain value and power with time, and win new elements to itself. It is not hard to indicate the essential New York character from the beginning. It is positive, institutional, large-hearted, genial, taking it for granted that all men are not of one pattern, and that we are to live by allowing others to have their liberty as we have ours.

* * "How far assimilation in its various forms of thought and life is to go, we can only conjecture; for the process has but begun. Our community, like every other community, must go through three stages of development to complete its providential evolution: aggregation, accommodation, and assimilation. The first stage is aggregation; and that comes, of course, with the fact of residence.* Here we are, about a million of us, aggregated on this healthy and charming island, and here we most of us expect and wish to stay. We are seeking our next stage, and wish accommodation not with entire success, and the city is distressed by prosperity, and is like an overgrown boy, whose clothes are too small for his limbs, and he waits in half-nakedness for his fitting garments. In some respects, the city itself is a majestic organism, and we have light, water, streets, and squares, much to our mind, always, of course, excepting the dirt. The scarcity of houses, the costs of rent, living, and taxation are grievous, and driving a large portion of our middling class into the country. Yet the city is full and overflow-

* In this connection the following emigration statistics are of value. During the year 1871 the number of passengers who arrived at the port of New York were as follows: Ireland, 50,220; Germany, 88,601; England, 51,027; Scotland, 10,154; Wales, 1,224; France, 4,245; Spain, 130; Switzerland, 2,630; Holland, 929; Norway, 2,718; Sweden, 10,749; Denmark, 2,210; Italy, 2,309; Portugal, 48; Belgium, 161; West Indies, 215; Nova Scotia, 53; Japan, 14; South America, 85; Canada, 63; China, 246; Sicily, 12; Mexico, 29; Russia, 713; East Indies, 6; Turkey, 8; Greece, 7; Poland, 763; Africa, 8; Central America, 35; Australia, 22. Total arrivals, 271,067, of whom 41,428 were citizens, leaving the number of aliens 229,639.

ing, and is likely to be. The work of assimilation is going on, and every debate, controversy, and party, brings the various elements together; and we are seeing each other, whether we differ or agree. Great progress has been made in observing and appreciating our situation and population. Probably New York knows itself better to-day than at any time since its imperial proportions began to appear. In politics, police, philanthropy, education, and religion, we are reckoning our classes, numbers, and tendencies, and feeling our way towards some better harmony of ideas and interests. The whole population of the city was, by census of 1860, 813,669; and by the census of 1865, 726,386. The voters number 151,838; native, 51,500; foreign, 77,475. Over twenty-one years, they who cannot read and write are 19,199. Families number 148,683. Total of foreigners by census of 1860 was 383,717; and by the census of 1865, 313,417. Number of women, by census of 1865, was 36,000 more than of men, and of widows, over 32,000; being 25,000 more widows than widowers. The Germans, by the census of 1860, numbered 119,984; and by the census of 1865, 107,269. This makes up this city not the third, but the eighth city in the world as to German population. These German cities have a larger population: Berlin, Vienna, Breslau, Cologne, Munich, Hamburg, and Dresden. The Irish, by the census of 1860, number 203,700; and by the census of 1865, 261,334.

“New York now, we believe, has a million of residents, and either peculiar difficulties in the census commission of 1865, or peculiar influences after the war, led to the appearance of diminishing population. Certainly we have, of late, gained numbers, and have not lost in variety of elements to be assimilated. The national diversities are not hostile, and we are seeking out their best, instead of their worst, qualities. Italian art and French

accomplishment we can appreciate without forgetting that we are Americans. We are discerning in our New York Germany something better than lager beer and Sunday concerts, and learning to appeal to the sterling sense and indomitable love of liberty of the countrymen of Luther and Gutenberg. The Irish among us, who make this the second if not the first Irish city of the world, and who contribute so largely to our ignorant and criminal returns, we are studying anew, and discerning their great service to industry and their great capacity for organization. We find among them good specimens of the blood of the Clintons and the Emmets, and are bound to acknowledge that, in purity, their wives and daughters may be an example to any class in America or Europe. Old Israel is with us too in force, and some thirty synagogues of Jews manifest the power of the oldest organized religion, and the example of a people that cares wholly for its own sick and poor; willing to meet Christians as friends and citizens, and learn our religion more from its own gospel of love than from its old conclaves of persecution. We often see other types of the Oriental mind in our streets and houses, and it will be well for us when Asia is here represented by able specimens of her mystical piety, and we learn of her something of the secret of her repose in God, and give her in return something of our art of bringing the will of God to bear upon this stubborn earth, instead of losing sight of the earth in dreams of pantheistic absorption. In many ways the various elements are combining to shape our ideas and society, and fill out the measure of our practical education.

“Yet, probably, the most important assimilation, as already hinted, is that which is going on here between the various elements of our American life in this mother-city, which is destined, apparently, to be to America what Rome was to the tribes that thronged to its gates. What has

been taking place in England is taking place here, and the Independents and Churchmen are coming together here as in England since the Revolution of 1688, when extremes were greatly reduced, and the independency of Milton and Cromwell began to reappear in combination with the church ways of Clarendon and Jeremy Taylor. The most significant part of the process is the union here of Puritan individualism and its intuitive thinking and bold ideas, with New York institutionalism, and its organizing method and objective mind. The Yankee is here, and means to stay, and is apparently greatly pleased with the position and reception, and enjoys the fixed order and established paths of his Knickerbocker hosts. It is remarkable that whilst New England numbered only some 20,000, or 19,517 of her people here, which is 7,000 less than the nations of Old England in the city, by the census of 1860, they are so well received and effective, and fill so many and important places in business and the professions. By the census of 1865, New York city has 17,856 natives of New England, and 19,699 natives of Old England; a balance of 1,843 in favor of Old England. Yet, in the State at large, the result is different, for the population numbers 166,038 natives of New England, and 95,666 natives of Old England; a balance of 70,372 in favor of New England. It is curious to note that the city had only 825 native Dutch in 1865, and the State 4,254. In a philosophical point of view, it is memorable that the Puritan mind is now largely in power, even in our church establishments that so depart from New England independency, and the leading Presbyterian and Episcopal preachers and scholars are largely from the Puritan ranks. Our best informed scholar in the philosophy of religion, who holds the chair of theological instruction in the Presbyterian Seminary, is a New England Congregationalist, transplanted to New York. Nay, even the leading, or at least the most conspicuous,

Roman Catholic theologian of New York is the son of a Connecticut Congregationalist minister, and carries the lineal blood and mental habit of his ancestor, Jonathan Edwards, into the illustration and defense of the Roman creed. It is worthy of note that our most philosophical historian is the son of a Massachusetts Congregational minister, and a lover of the old scholastic thinking, and a champion of the ideal school of Edwards and Channing in its faith and independency; author, too, of perhaps the most bold and characteristic word of America to Europe, the oration of February 22d, 1866, that was the answer of our New World to British Toryism and Romish Obscurantism, whether to the Premier's mock neutral manifesto or the Pope's Encyclical Letter.

*. * "It is the province of the New York Historical Society to keep up the connection of the New York of the past with the New York of to-day, and zealously to guard and interpret all the historical materials that preserve the continuity of our public life. It is to be lamented that so little remains around us to keep alive the memory of the ancient time; and everything almost that we see is the work of the new days. Sad it is that all the old neighborhoods are broken up, and the old houses and churches are mostly swept away by our new prosperity. But how impressive are our few landmarks! We all could join in the Centennial Jubilee of St. Paul's, and wish well to its opening future. So, too, we can greet our neighbors of the John-street Church in their Centennial, and thank God for the one hundred years of New York Methodism. Who of us can pass without reflection by the old Middle Dutch Church, now our Post-office, in Nassau Street, without recalling the years and events that have passed since 1729, when it was opened for worship in the Dutch tongue? In March, 1764, the preaching there was, for the first time, in English; and in August, 1844, Dr. De Witt gave an outline of its his-

tory and pronounced the benediction in Dutch; and that old shrine of the Knickerbockers is now the busy brain of the nation and the world, and receives and transmits some forty tons of thought a day. What would one of those old Rip Van Winkles of 1729 have thought, if he



HISTORICAL SOCIETY BUILDING AND ST. MARK'S CHURCH.

could have prolonged his Sunday afternoon nap in one of those ancient pews till now, and awoke to watch the day's mail, with news by the last steamers and the Atlantic cable for all parts of the great continent? Our Broad-

way, ever changing, and yet the same old road, is perhaps our great historical monument, and the historical street of America by eminence. All the men of our history have walked there, and all nations and tribes have trodden its stones and dust. In our day what have we seen there—what processions, armies, pageants! What work would be more an American as well as New York history than Broadway, described and illustrated with text and portraits from the time when Stuyvesant astonished the Dutch with his dignity to the years that have brought the hearse of our murdered President* and the carriage of his successor along its stately avenue? Thank heaven for old Broadway, noble type of American civilization, from the Battery to Harlem River, and may the ways of the city be as straight as the lines of its direction and as true to the march of the Providence of God.†

* * “What the orator who ushers in the twentieth century here, or who celebrates your one hundredth anniversary, may have to say as he reviews the nineteenth century, I will not undertake to say. What we should wish and pray for is clear. Clear that we should wish the new times to keep the wisdom and virtue of the old with

* Alluding to the funeral obsequies of President Lincoln, which consisted of the remains of the President being carried in procession through Broadway on the 25th of April, 1865, on their way from Washington to their final resting-place in Springfield, Illinois. The remains reached the city the preceding day, and after lying in state in the City Hall, which had been draped for the occasion, the city of New York took its final leave of all that was mortal of President Lincoln. “The remains were escorted to the railroad depot by a procession nearly five miles in length, composed of a military force of upward of sixteen thousand men, together with numerous civic officers and societies. Last in the procession marched two thousand colored citizens. Every window and balcony was filled; every house was shrouded in funeral drapery; while along the whole line the streets were thronged with sincere mourners. A large assemblage met in the afternoon of the same day in Union Square, to listen to a funeral oration from Hon. George Bancroft, and an eulogy from William C. Bryant.”

† For an article upon “New York Society in the Olden Time,” by the Right Rev. Bishop Kip, see Appendix No. XVI.

all the new light and progress; clear that after our trying change from the old quarters to the new, we may build a nobler civilization on the new base, and so see better days than ever before; that the great city that shall be here should be not only made up of many men but of true manhood, and be not only the capital of the world but the city of God; its great park the central ground of noble fellowship; its great wharves and markets the seat of honorable industry and commerce; its public halls the head-quarters of free and orderly Americans; its churches the shrines of the blessed faith and love that join man with man, and give open communion with God and heaven."

THE END.

APPENDIXES.

APPENDIX I.

THE CONSTITUTION AND NOMINATIONS OF THE SUBSCRIBERS

TO THE

TONTINE COFFEE-HOUSE.*

CONSTITUTION, &c.

WHEREAS the several persons whose names are hereunto subscribed and set, have, at their joint expense, purchased certain lots of land in the Second Ward of the city of New York, and erected a building thereon, called the Tontine Coffee-house, to be kept and used as a coffee-house in the said city of New York, and have furnished the same for that purpose, and have taken conveyances for the same premises in the names of John Broome, Gulian Verplanck, John Delafield, William Laight, and John Watts, five of the said subscribers, in joint tenancy, as trustees for themselves and the other subscribers; and, whereas the property in the said lands, and building, and furniture is divided into *two hundred and three shares*, which belong to the persons whose names are hereunto subscribed and set, in the proportion mentioned opposite to their respective names; and the owner of each of the said shares, or his executors, administrators, or assigns, is to have and receive the profits of such share during the natural life of the person named and described, opposite to his name, as his nominee for such share, and to which description such owner has subscribed his name; and, upon the death of any such nominee, the share, which depends upon the life of such nominee, is to cease, and the whole profits of the said premises are continually to go to, and be equally divided among, such of the said owners whose nominees shall be living on the first day of May in every year, until the said nominees shall by death be reduced to seven, when the whole of the said property is to vest in the persons then entitled to the shares, standing in the names of the seven surviving nominees; and the trustees, or their heirs, in whom the fee of the said land and premises shall then be vested, are then to convey the same to the persons so entitled in fee, equally

* New York : Printed in the year 1796.

to be divided between them; therefore, in order to carry the said plan into execution, it is hereby agreed, by and between the said owners, as follows, that is to say:—

First—That the said building shall be used and kept as a coffee-house, and for no other use or purpose, until the number of the said nominees shall be reduced to seven.

Secondly—That Comfort Sands, Cornelius Ray, Anthony L. Bleecker, James Tillery, and William Henderson, who have been chosen and appointed a committee for that purpose, shall settle all the accounts of the said purchase and building as soon as conveniently may be, and divide the surplus, if any, of the subscription money paid by the present owners, and the net profits already arisen among the said owners, in proportion to their respective shares, and take care of and manage the said business for the interest of the said owners, and receive the rents and profits of the said premises, until the first day of June next, and shall then divide the net profits thereof between such of the said owners whose nominees shall then be living, in proportion to their respective shares.

Thirdly—That it shall and may be lawful for the owners of the said several shares, for the time being, to meet together yearly and every year, at the said coffee-house, on the first Monday in June, in every year, at eleven of the clock in the forenoon, and then and there, by a majority of the votes of the persons so met, to elect and choose five of the said owners, resident in the city of New York, as a committee to manage the said business for one year; and that the committee for the time being, or the major part of them, or the survivors or survivor of them, or the major part of the survivors of them, shall always superintend such election, and make return of, and give notice thereof, to the persons elected. But no person shall have more than one vote at such election, although he may be entitled to more than one of the said shares.

Fourthly—That every such committee, hereafter to be chosen as aforesaid, shall have the care and management of the said house and premises for the said owners, and take care of, and keep the same in repair, and make leases thereof, as occasion may require, which leases shall be confirmed, when necessary, by the persons in whom the fee of the said land may be vested. The committee shall also settle and adjust the accounts of the preceding committee, and shall receive the rents and profits of the premises aforesaid, and divide the net proceeds thereof, on the second Tuesday in May, in every year, between such of the owners of the said several shares, whose nominees shall be living on the first day of the same month of May, in the same year, in proportion to their respective shares.

Fifthly—That, until the said nominees shall be reduced to seven, as aforesaid, each of the said shares shall be considered as personal estate, and upon the death of the owner, if not disposed of by him, shall go to his executors or administrators, and it shall be lawful for any person entitled to such share to sell and transfer the same to any other person; but all such transfers shall be in writing, and signed by the person making the same, in the presence of, and attested by, two witnesses at least, and shall be registered in a book to be kept for that purpose by the said committee, and no transfer shall be valid until the same shall be registered, as aforesaid. And all such transfers shall be in the following form, to wit:

• Know all men by these presents, that I (here insert the name and addition of the owner, and if such owner claims as devisee, executor, or administrator, insert such description) do hereby, for value received, sell, grant, and convey (here insert the name and addition of the purchaser) my share in the New York Tontine Coffee-house, to which I am entitled during the natural life of (here insert the name and description of the nominee) and all my rights, title, interest, claim, and demand, of, in, and to the same. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this day of , in the year of our Lord one thousand

And no person claiming any share as devisee, executor, or administrator shall be entitled to the profits thereof, or to sell or transfer the same, or to vote in respect thereof, until the will and letters testamentary, or letters of administration, by which such claim shall be made, shall be recorded in the proper office in the State of New York, and a registry thereof entered in the said book of registry of transfers by the said committee.

Sixthly—That the present trustees, in whom the fee simple of the said land and premises is now vested, shall, as soon as conveniently may be, execute such declaration or deed as counsel shall advise, as necessary and proper, to answer the several purposes aforesaid.

Seventhly—That when the said trustees, in whom the fee simple of the said land and premises is vested, shall by death be reduced to less than three, the said committee, for the time being, shall give notice thereof in at least two of the newspapers printed in this city, and request the then owners of the several shares to meet together at the said Coffee-house, at a certain time therein to be mentioned, not less than ten days from the first publication thereof, to nominate and elect five other persons to be trustees for them; and such five persons as shall at such meeting be elected, by a majority of the votes of the said owners so met, shall be trustees for the whole of the said owners. And the survivors or survivor of the present trustees shall thereupon, on demand, in due form of law, convey the said land and premises, with the appurtenances, unto such new trustees, and the survivors and survivor of them, and the heirs of such survivor, upon the like trusts as aforesaid, with a covenant therein to be inserted, that, if such new trustees shall, by death, be reduced to less than three before the said nominees shall by death be reduced to seven, that then the survivors or survivor will, in due form of law, convey the said land and premises, with the appurtenances, unto five other trustees, to be chosen in the manner aforesaid, upon the like trusts as aforesaid, and with the like covenant, to be therein inserted.

Eighthly—That when the said nominees shall by death be reduced to seven, then the trustees, or their heirs, in whom the fee simple of the said land and premises shall be vested, shall, in due form of law, convey the same land and premises, with the appurtenances, and all their estate and interest therein, to the persons then entitled to the shares standing in the names of the seven surviving nominees, and to the heirs and assigns of the persons so entitled forever, equally to be divided between them.

Done in the city of New York, the fourth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

APPENDIX II.

RICHMOND HILL.

BY GENERAL PROSPER M. WETMORE.

The memories clustering round the spot once known by this name have not lost their freshness in the passing away of two generations of our people; while its many living traditions of social and political events extend over a space of time fast approaching the close of a century.

This princely estate, so well known to our elderly citizens, was for many years one of the chief attractions of the suburban scenery of New York. Situated on a commanding eminence, surrounded by groves of ancient trees, a short distance west of the centre of the island, it extended, through intervening vales, to the shores washed by the waters of the Hudson. The hand of Art and the guidance of taste had adorned its broad expanse of cultivated grounds, with all the luxuriance of gardens, arbors, and shrubberies; while Nature lent to the perfection of the landscape her choicest productions and the ripening influences of her beneficence. The chequered fortunes of the owners of this beautiful region were not more remarkable than the conflicting conditions which followed the title to the estate, as it passed into the hands of its successive proprietors. About ten years anterior to the Revolution, an English gentleman, Major Abraham Mortier, at one period of his life a Commissary of the English Army, acquired possession of the principal part of this eligible tract of land, which was then held under grant from the Colonial Government, by the Episcopal Church of the City of New York. This religious organization, afterwards under the sanction of law, adopted the more definite title of "Trinity Church."

The grant to the Church embraced immense possessions within the bounds of the rising city, a goodly share of which is still retained under the same authority. Having secured from the Church a lease of the property for a long extended term of years, the new proprietor erected, on a conspicuous eminence, a spacious and imposing edifice, to which, with a natural fondness for familiar English names, he gave the designation of "Richmond Hill." He speedily commenced, on a scale of generous expenditure, to improve and orna-

ment its grounds. This disposition, on his part, growing with the opening attractions of his new home, continued until the outbreak of hostilities, or, according to the local traditions, until his premature death. While the property remained in his possession, Major Mortier devoted much of his time and no small share of his fortune to the embellishment of his highly-prized acquisition.*

At the commencement of active hostilities, in the neighborhood of New York, under the tenure of military power, General Washington, with his family, were, for a portion of the year 1776, the occupants of Richmond Hill. It was during this period that Colonel Aaron Burr was appointed an aid with the rank of major, on the staff of the Commander-in-chief, and, thus early, became personally acquainted with the advantages and attractions of the place. It is not within the design of this brief sketch to follow the successive changes of title and possession, between the departure of Mortier and the removal of Washington's headquarters from Richmond Hill to the Roger Morris House, near the Point of Rocks. The movement of the American forces was consequent on the subjugation of the city by the British troops, and preceded only, by a short time, the capture of Fort Washington. During the seven years' occupation of the Island of New York, little is known of its internal condition; but, undoubtedly, some superior British officer enjoyed the advantages and administered the unpaid-for hospitalities of Richmond Hill. The year 1783 witnessed the departure of the unsuccessful supporters of royalty and the gradual return of citizens to the peaceable resumption of their property and rights. The legal tenure of the rights held under the Church-lease to the Richmond Hill property was maintained, and the buildings and improvements were not disturbed nor injured while in adverse occupancy. During the first year of the Government, under the newly-adopted Constitution, while President Washington was living, with some display of courtly splendor, at the Franklin mansion, on the corner of Pearl and Cherry Streets, John Adams, of Massachusetts, the first Vice-President, occupied the house and grounds of Richmond Hill. How much the delightful surroundings of that beautiful residence were enjoyed by its inmates, at this period, is pleasantly depicted in the letters of Mrs. Abigail Adams, the wife of the Vice-President. She writes to her relative, Mrs. Shaw, in the following glowing terms:

"RICHMOND HILL, N. Y.,

"27th September, 1789.

"I write to you, my dear Sister, not from the disputed banks of the Potomac, the Susquehanna, or the Delaware, but from the peaceful borders of the Hudson; a situation where the hand of Nature has so lavishly displayed her beauties, that she has left scarcely anything for her handmaid, Art, to perform.

"The house in which we reside is situated upon a hill, the avenue to which is interspersed with forest-trees, under which a shrubbery, rather too luxuriant and wild, has taken shelter, owing to its having been deprived, by death, some years since, of its original proprietor, who kept it in perfect order. In

* This property is traced on the map, published from a survey made, in 1776, by Major Montresor.

front of the house the noble Hudson rolls its majestic waves, bearing upon his bosom innumerable small vessels, which are constantly forwarding the rich products of the neighboring soil to the busy hand of a more extensive commerce. Beyond the Hudson rises to our view the fertile country of the Jerseys, covered with a golden harvest and pouring forth plenty, like the cornucopia of Ceres. On the right hand, an extensive plain presents us with a view of fields, covered with verdure, and pastures full of cattle. On the left, the city opens upon us, intercepted only by clumps of trees and some rising ground which serves to heighten the beauty of the scene, by appearing to conceal a part. In the background is a large flower-garden, enclosed with a hedge, and some very handsome trees. On one side of it a grove of pines and oaks, fit for contemplation.

"In this path,
How long soe'er the wanderer roves, each step
Shall wake fresh beauties; each last point present
A different picture, new, and each the same."

"If my days of fancy and romance were not past, I could find here an ample field for indulgence; yet, amidst these delightful scenes of Nature, my heart pants for the society of my dear relatives and friends, who are too far removed from me."

In another letter, written a year later, to her friend, Mr. Brand-Hollis, living in England, she repeats and enlarges her description of the beauties of the scenery by which she was surrounded at her delightful residence at Richmond Hill, and when the removal of the Government from New York to Philadelphia required the official families to change their residences, the regrets of Mrs. Adams were feelingly expressed.

In the year 1797, this property was in the possession of an eminent foreign gentleman by the name of Temple; and a good deal of public excitement was awakened by an extensive robbery committed on the premises, the perpetrators of which were never discovered. Just at this period the Richmond Hill estate came into the possession of Aaron Burr, by whom it was retained, as a country residence, for about fifteen years.

Colonel Burr retired from the army, in consequence of greatly impaired health, some years before the Revolutionary contest had ceased. He had entered, actively, into the practice of the law, at New York, in which he had already acquired no little distinction elsewhere. Subsequently elected to the Senate of the United States, and, at the close of that service, elevated to the office of Vice-President, much of his time was necessarily spent at the seat of government; but all of his home life was passed in the society of his family, at Richmond Hill. While his business offices and temporary lodging apartments were in the crowded city, his hours of enjoyment and the brilliant scenes of his social entertainments always found him at this chosen spot. It was here that he received, with fitting honors, the distinguished strangers, from every land, who came to study the features of the country and to estimate the characters of the people, newly entering into the family of nations. Certainly, no man of that day was better qualified to perform the duty he had taken upon himself. Born, as it seemed, to adorn society; rich in knowledge; brilliant and instructive in conversation; gifted with a charm of manner that

was almost irresistible; he was the idol of all who came within the magic sphere of his friendship and his social influence. In his immediate family circle were centered his purest joys, his highest hopes. His married life had been one of uninterrupted happiness, save from the declining health of his affectionate wife. The correspondence between them, which is extant, affords undeniable evidence of the truth of these statements. His daughter, Theodosia, after the death of her mother, was the delight of her father's heart, the chosen companion of his hours of ease and relaxation. She conducted, with rare tact and discretion, the generous hospitality of the Richmond Hill establishment; and the felicity of her management and the charm of her manner were, frequently, the topic of admiration and commendation in the best social assemblages of those happy days.

Among the frequent guests at Burr's house, during this period of his highest prosperity and popularity, were the accomplished Volney, the courtly Talleyrand, and the princely-born Louis Philippe. Expatriated, under the misrule of the French Revolution, these were all of a class of men whom Burr delighted to entertain, and who could appreciate and enjoy the elegant hospitality which was extended to them. About this time, also, while the Vice-President was at his post of duty, in Washington, he requested his daughter, whom he had left in charge of his country establishment, and who was then fourteen years of age, to give a dinner-party at Richmond Hill, to the celebrated Indian Chief, Brant.*

The years that were passed (with occasional absences on public duty) at Richmond Hill, in the companionship of his wife and daughter, comprised the six years of allotted service in the Senate and the four years' incumbency of the office of Vice-President of the United States. In that brief period of time culminated, declined, and passed away, forever, the fame, distinction, and happiness of Aaron Burr.

There is no parallel in personal history for such a fate, so sudden and so irreparable, as that which befell the once honored, respected, admired, and feared master of Richmond Hill.

As a brave and faithful soldier of the Revolution, he was without fear and without reproach. In his first battle, he was chosen to lead the forlorn hope, at the assault of Quebec; and, while under fire, he bore the body of Montgomery from the crimsoned snow-bank where he fell. Chosen by Washington to fill the responsible post of aid, he remained in that confidential position until he voluntarily accepted the office of the like distinction by the side of Putnam; and thence only changed his line of duty to accept the more active service in the command of a regiment. Distinguished in the arduous duties of maintaining the integrity of "the neutral ground" of Westchester, his conduct won the admiration of every judicious commander. Successful whenever he led an independent command, on the disastrous field of Monmouth he made the final sacrifice of his health and ambition to the cause of his country. Retiring from duty, as an invalid, he declined to accept the proffered privilege of leave from active service with continued compensation, and returned to the walks of private life with shattered health, but with few of the honors and none of the rewards of his faithful service.

* For an account of this dinner, and also for a letter written by Burr to his daughter, introducing the Chief, Brant, to her, see Chapter VI., Part III.

This is the brief, but true, military record of Aaron Burr. Is there nothing in such a record to justify the hope of a memory worthy to be cherished, rather than to meet the execration of undying enmity? One act of Burr's life made him an outcast, not alone from the society he had adorned and honored, but from the country which had given him birth, and in support of whose liberties he had freely periled his life. Of the great host of enemies, so suddenly raised up, and who so relentlessly followed the footsteps of the stricken man, how many were there who should have shuddered with the infamy of casting the first stone?

At the closing of his official duties, as Vice-President, Burr followed out a long and well considered purpose of opening a justifiable enterprise for the conquest of one of the provinces of Southern America. Through the perfidy of one or more of his trusted agents, he was arrested, imprisoned, and tried for treason, in the city of Richmond, Virginia. After months of enforced delay, for sinister purposes, the trial was held before the most distinguished of all the Chief-Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States; and while the whole power of the Government of the nation was arrayed against the persecuted defendant, under the advice and ruling of John Marshall, he was honorably acquitted and restored to all the rights of a citizen. And yet there are men who continue to write and speak of Aaron Burr as a traitor!

How many years was he in advance of that glorious enterprise which secured Texas as one of the States of the American Union! His subsequent career was one of long-continued and almost crushing sorrows. The sad sufferings which his misfortunes had cast upon his noble-minded daughter, Theodosia, who had previously become the wife of Governor Alston, of South Carolina; the melancholy death of her only child; and the loss of the devoted mother, on her voyage to meet and welcome home her beloved father, after his long years of absence abroad, altogether make one of the most pathetic stories in the whole range of personal literature. This painful episode has led our reflections far away from the subject of Richmond Hill, and we now again take up the thread of our history. Before Burr's loss of fortune he had contemplated parting with this property, and had opened negotiations with a wealthy capitalist to that end. Having suddenly determined to visit Europe, in the hope and expectation of obtaining pecuniary assistance in the prosecution of his Mexican enterprise, he departed, leaving his business affairs in a condition of irretrievable embarrassment. The necessary consequence was, that the Richmond Hill property was sold, to satisfy the most pressing of his creditors, for a very small part of its actual value; and that, finally, the larger portion became incorporated with the vast estate of Mr. John Jacob Astor. A part of the property held by Burr was not embraced under the Church-lease, but had been purchased from other parties; and so much as had been thus acquired, with a title in fee, had been disposed of some years prior to the ultimate catastrophe from which there was no recovery.

While writing these lines, we have lying before us an attested copy of a conveyance, with an attested map of the premises attached, from Aaron Burr to John Jacob Astor bearing date the eighteenth of November, 1803. This instrument purports to convey a piece of land known as the "Triangle," comprising about forty city lots, bounded by the line of the Church property, and is conveyed, in fee, to the purchaser. The location of this section is indicated,

by its boundaries, on Downing, Bedford, and Village Streets—the latter name being now obsolete.

It is a significant fact, in relation to Burr's well-known business relations, that this piece of property was conveyed, subject to an existing mortgage, in favor of the Manhattan Company. We have also before us an original instrument, certified of record, by T. Wortman, clerk of the city and county of New York, purporting to be a mortgage executed by Timothy and Mary Green to Aaron Burr, covering certain lots, formerly part of the estate of said Burr, and which had previously been part of the estate of Elbert Herring, and was bounded by property held by Burr, under a Church-lease. This mortgage bears date the twenty-third day of October, 1802; and appears to have been assigned, on the same day, to the Manhattan Company. These ancient documents are only interesting to antiquaries in search of disputed or forgotten boundaries, and were found, with many other unconsidered trifles, among the multifarious articles seeking a purchaser in the stock of a dealer in old paper. They are entirely at the service of any person who can find them of any value. Thus passed away, into other hands, the possessions once held and dearly prized by the dwellers in the spacious halls and on the broad lands of Richmond Hill. From time to time, between the years 1806 and 1818, the premises, diminished in size and attraction, were noticed in the public papers to be rented for private residences; and thus, as time passed on, the fortunes of Richmond Hill declined.

The writer remembers the place well. In the year 1813 the noble mansion remained in good preservation, with its broad entrance, under a porch of imposing height, supported by tall columns, with balconies fronting the rooms of the second story, and with an aspect of distinction altogether beyond the ordinary private dwellings of that day. The outer entrance of the premises, at the period mentioned, was through a spacious gateway, placed between highly ornamented columns, at the then termination of McDougal Street, about two hundred feet north of Spring Street. The grounds at that time had been reduced in size, by the interposing barriers of newly opened streets, and no longer extended to the river. The beautiful piece of water, long known as "Burr's Pond," remained intact, with a full supply of the needed element, which, in winter, gave excitement and enjoyment to all the noisy urchins fond of the exercise of skating. On this point the writer can speak from personal knowledge. "Burr's Pond," so far as its exact location can now be traced, must have been on or near the piece of ground known as "the Triangle," as it has been followed to a point where it meets the junction of Bedford and Downing Streets.

In the year 1820 the final excavation of the high ground was completed, and in 1822 a public garden was opened, and soon became a popular resort for the neighboring inhabitants, to whom refreshments were served from the main building. A turtle feast became, also, a standard entertainment, and was frequently presented to an appreciative public by a society gifted with a knowledge of such culinary accomplishments.

Having thus passed through all the mutations of city suburban property, these premises followed the fortunes of other localities; the street commissioner made his influence felt; streets and avenues were opened; buildings were demolished or removed; profile maps came into vogue; hills disappeared

and valleys were filled; until at length the old Richmond Hill mansion found itself shorn of all its grandeur, stripped of its verdant groves, despoiled of its gardens and lawns, sitting sadly, far beneath its former altitude, at the noisy and somewhat unsavory corner of Charlton and Varick Streets. Its stately portals no longer opened wide to welcome the entrance of distinguished guests from foreign lands, or the brilliant crowds who came to mingle in the gay receptions of joyous and sparkling Theodosia. Poor Theodosia! whose grave had been made for her beneath the surging billows of the ocean.

Alas! for the changes wrought by the relentless hand of Time! The tenacity of life with the old mansion was remarkable; and, after the gardens had ceased to be remunerative and other similar attractions had failed, a new and more pretentious effort was made to embellish its history and to keep alive, a little longer, the distinction attached to its name. On its new foundation the house was placed with its front, still wearing the adornments of columns and balconies, some twenty feet withdrawn from Varick Street, extending along the line of Charlton Street. About the year 1831 the premises were leased and a new building constructed, in the rear, connected with the principal edifice and running back about fifty feet, with the view to form a dramatic temple, under the title of "The Richmond Hill Theatre." When completed, the management of the establishment was entrusted to Mr. Richard Russell, an experienced and respectable member of the theatrical profession.

Shortly before the opening night the manager invited, by public notice and the offer of a prize, the co-operation of our city's literati in the production of a *Poetical Address* for the occasion. The committee selected to award the prize sat in one of the reception chambers of the old time-honored mansion. It was an afternoon to be remembered. As the twilight deepened into the evening, the shadows of departed hosts and long-forgotten guests seemed to hover round the dilapidated halls and dismantled chambers. Silence and a saddening gloom weighed heavily on the spirits of the selected party. But the lights came, the feeling of depression soon passed away, and the disordered fancy was roused to resume the duty of the hour.

Mr. Gulian C. Verplanck was chosen to break the seals of a couple of dozen envelopes. The writer of this paper was permitted to be a sharer in the ceremonies. As the poems were read, or glanced at, some few were placed on the right hand, but much the larger number on the left. Of course there could be but little hesitation in making up the final verdict. The successful competitor bore the name of Fitz-Greene Halleck; and, with these pages, the original manuscript of the following beautiful poem is placed in the hands of the editor of *The Historical Magazine*:

PRIZE POEM

WRITTEN FOR THE OPENING OF THE RICHMOND HILL THEATRE.

Where dwells the Drama's Spirit?—not alone
Beneath the palace-roof, beside the throne,
In learning's cloisters, friendship's festal bowers,
Arts pictur'd halls, or triumph's laurel'd towers—
Where'er man's pulses beat, or passions play,
She joys to smile or sigh his thoughts away,
Crowd times and scenes within her ring of power,
And teach a life's experience in an hour.

To night she greets, for the first time, our dome,
Her latest, may it prove her lasting home,
And we, her messengers, delighted stand,
The summoned Ariels of her mystic wand,
To ask your welcome. . . . Be it yours to give
Bliss to her coming hours, and bid her live
Within these walls, new-hallowed in her cause,
Long in the nurturing warmth of your applause.

'Tis in the public smiles, the public loves,
His dearest home, the actor breathes and moves;
Your plaudits are, to us, and to our art,
As is the life-blood to the human heart;
And every power that bids the leaf be green
In nature, acts on this her mimic scene.
Our sunbeams are the sparklings of glad eyes,
Our winds, the whisper of applause that flies
From lip to lip, the heart-born laugh of glee,
And sounds of cordial hands that ring out merrily;
And heaven's own dew falls on us in the tear
That woman weeps o'er sorrows pictur'd here,
When crowded feelings have no words to tell
The might, the magic of the actor's spell.

These have been ours, and do we hope in vain,
Here, oft, and deep, to feel them ours again?
No—while the weary heart can find repose
From its own pains in fictions, joys, or woes;
While there are open lips and dimpled cheeks
When music breathes, or wit or humor speaks;
While Shakespeare's master spirit can call up
Noblest and holiest thoughts, and brim the cup
Of life with bubbles bright as happiness,
Cheating the willing bosom into bliss;
So long will those who, in their spring of youth,
Have listened to the drama's voice of truth!
Marked in her scenes the manners of their age,
And gathered knowledge for a wider stage;
Come here to speed with smiles life's summer years,
And melt its winter's snow with warmest tears;
And younger hearts, when ours are hushed and cold,
Be happy here, as we have been of old.

Friends of the stage! who hail it as the shrine
Where music, painting, poetry entwine
Their wedded garlands, whence their blended power
Refines, exalts, ennobles, hour by hour,
The spirit of the land; and, like the wind,
Unseen, but felt, bears on the bark of mind;
To you, the hour that consecrates this dome
Will call up dreams of prouder hours to come,
When some creating Poet, born your own,
May waken here the drama's loftiest tone,
Through after years to echo loud and long;
A Shakespeare of the west—a star of song!
Brightening your own blue skies with living fire,
All climes to gladden, and all tongues inspire,
Far as beneath the heaven, by sea-winds fanned,
Floats the tree banner of your native land.

However promising may have been the opening of the theatrical speculation, it did not, in the end, restore the fortunes or rescue the name of the Richmond Hill House. The situation was not well adapted for such a place of amusement, and its existence was not a protracted one.

What is known as "the regular drama"—tragedies and comedies—failing to attract sufficient support, an operatic company was called into requisition. Some well-appointed musical entertainments were offered, but usually with inadequate results. One of the most effective performers in Italian opera, and with a superb voice, was presented at this house. Pedrotti will long be remembered for her charming acting and singing.

Several of the actors, of established reputations, from other theaters, appeared here for short engagements. Cooper occasionally reminded his admirers of an early day of the gratification his acting had afforded them; while those well-remembered favorites, Mr. and Mrs. Hilson, whose names were household words with a New York audience, sometimes wandered away from the Park to receive a cordial welcome at Richmond Hill. But the chief incident in this dramatic episode was the entrance into the management of John Barnes, so long and well known as one of the leading comic actors from the Park company.

Mr. and Mrs. Barnes were sterling performers. They had brought from their old theatrical homestead all the prestige of a life-long stage success. They had also acquired a moderate competency in the practice of their profession, and had won the warm regard and respect of a large community of friends of the drama, by the excellency of their deportment and habits of life. Mr. Barnes first appeared at the Park Theater, in the year 1816, and Mrs. Barnes at the same time. They both soon established themselves in public favor, and remained at the Park until the spring of the year 1832, when Mr. Barnes accepted the management of the new theater. The enterprise was a signal failure, much to the regret of those who witnessed the misfortune which befell the manager and his accomplished companion.

In opening the second season, in May, 1832, Mrs. Barnes delighted her audience by reciting a brilliant Address from the pen of a gentleman who shone among the literary lights of that day. Mr. Charles P. Clinch, with characteristic, but not to be commended, modesty, withheld his poem from the press, and it cannot, therefore, lend grace and beauty to these pages.

The theater, with the aid occasionally of a circus company, or a menagerie, continued its feeble existence for about ten years, and at the close of 1842 it finally surrendered to a fate that was inevitable—its doors were closed never again to be opened.

And thus passed away the glories and the shadows of Richmond Hill. All that remains of them are a few fleeting memories and a page or two of history fast fading into oblivion.

APPENDIX III.

INSCRIPTION ON MONTGOMERY'S MONUMENT.

This Monument is erected by the order of Congress,
25th Jan^y, 1776, to transmit to posterity a grateful remem-
brance of the patriotism, conduct, enterprise & perseverance
of Major General Richard Montgomery,

Who after a series of successes amidst the most discouraging difficulties Fell in the attack on
Quebec, 31st Dec^r 1775, Aged 37 years.

Invenit et sculpsit, Parisiis J.J. Caffieri, Sculptor Regius, Anno Domini cbbclxxvii

THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Caused the Remains of

MAJOR GENL. RICHARD MONTGOMERY,

To be conveyed from Quebec

And deposited beneath this Monument,

the 8th day of July,

1818.

LETTER FROM GENERAL MONTGOMERY.

General Richard Montgomery was born December 2, 1738, not at Convoys, as sometimes stated, but at Swords; Feltrim, near Swords, having been a residence of different members of the family, and indeed at times of Thomas Montgomery.

The events leading to Richard Montgomery's design of coming to America have always been involved in obscurity, but the following, which I have not before seen, may give the whole clue to his emigration:* "You no doubt will be surprised when I tell you I have taken the resolution of quitting the service and dedicating the rest of my life to husbandry, for which I have of late conceived a violent passion. A passion I am determined to indulge in, quitting the career of glory for the substantial comforts of independence. My frequent disappointments with respect to preferment, the little prospect of future advancement to a man who has no friends able or willing to serve him, the mortification of seeing those of more interest getting before one, the little chance of having anything to do in the way of my profession, and that time of life approaching when rambling has no longer its charms, have confirmed me in the indulgence of my inclination. And as a man with little money cuts but a bad figure in this country among peers, nabobs, etc., etc., I have cast my eye on America, where my pride and poverty will be much more at their ease. This is an outline of my future plans." The tenor of this is borne out in a letter he wrote—one of the last he ever penned—to his father-in-law, Judge Livingston, who died before the letter reached its address, at "Headquarters before Quebec, December 16, 1775. . . . Should my good fortune give me success, I shall as soon as possible return home. I have lost the ambition which once sweetened a military life—a sense of my duty is the only spring of action. I must leave the field to those who have a more powerful incentive. I think our affairs at present in so prosperous a situation that I may venture to indulge myself in that sort of life which alone gives me pleasure. Should the scene change, I shall always be ready to contribute my mite to the public safety." Alas! for him and for his adopted country, what a change a fortnight brought to these bright dreams. But yet the letter to his father-in-law betrays the cause of his failure in Quebec, the force of which, perhaps, his unflinching spirit underestimated. "The unhappy passion for going home which prevails among the troops, has left me almost too weak to undertake the business I am about."

General Montgomery, soon after his coming to America in 1772, "laid out part of his money in the purchase of a farm and house near King's Bridge, about thirteen miles from the city of New York. Upon this he erected a small fort, which was evacuated and has been ever since garrisoned by the British troops. . . . After your brother's marriage, having acquired a tract of land by my sister, he laid out a considerable sum of money in building a dwelling-house and mills, which by his will were left to his widow."† This is

* MS. letter written to his cousin John Montgomery of Ballyleck, in the possession of General George S. Montgomery.

† Letter of Chancellor Livingston to Viscount Ranelagh, dated Salisbury, November 2, 1777.

Montgomery Place on the Hudson, now in the possession of Mrs. T. P. Barton, who inherited it from her aunt, Mrs. Montgomery.

Mrs. Montgomery kept up an intimate correspondence with members of her husband's family in Ireland, and many years after his death paid them a visit. There are many specimens of American trees at Convo, the seed of which it is said she sent over. She died in 1828, aged eighty-five.

There is a very good portrait of the General at Beaulieu House, a photograph of which I have seen, and which, when compared with that at Montgomery Place, would make it appear that the latter was a copy of the former; he must have sat for it at an earlier age than thirty-six, the period of his coming to America; he is habited in a red coat, and had not yet resigned his commission in the British army.

General Montgomery left behind him but few memorials of his active and eventful life; those that have come to light have mostly all appeared in the biographical notices already of him. His correspondence was sparse, but good; time may yet collect many of his letters still in private hands, and these, with other memorials which we hope are in store for the curious inquirer, may at a future day be given by some lover of his memory—and what American does not merit this claim?—to the public.

APPENDIX IV.

NEW YORK CITY POST-OFFICE.

The history of the New York Post-office is to such an extent the history of the city itself, so far as regards its growth and prosperity, that the present work would not be complete without a more detailed account than the one given in the text. The following sketch is also from *Harper's Magazine* for October, 1871 :

There seems to be no preserved evidence that for very many years after the settlement of what is now known as the city of New York there was any officially recognized post-office. The population was small in numbers, and there were no business inducements which would lead to much correspondence. The very first ships which arrived after the primitive settlement of course brought letters to New Amsterdam, and the commencement of our local office was naturally coeval with the foundation of the city ; but it was many years before there was a population which called for any system looking toward revenue.

On the arrival of the vessel those letters relating to the cargo were delivered to the merchants ; the members of the exulting, expecting crowd which welcomed their friends received their letters from hands warm with the grasp of friendship. If a solitary epistle found no owner, it was left in the possession of some responsible private citizen until called for. In time the intercourse with Holland increased, and there gradually developed a system of voluntary distribution which became eventually known as the "coffee-house delivery," which maintained its popularity and usefulness more than a hundred years.

This system grew out of the custom of masters of vessels, and the people from the settlements of Breucklyn, Pavonia, and the distant Hackensack, leaving at some agreed-upon popular tavern letters intrusted to them which they could not personally deliver. Here these "waifs" were kept in a small box, conveniently placed within the reach of all, or gibbeted ingeniously upon the surface of a smooth board, by means of green baize, tape, and brass-headed nails, the "composition" displayed the while, like some choice picture, in the most conspicuous part of the public room. There were hangers-on at these popular resorts who unconsciously acted as agents for this arcadian post ; for

they acquired temporary importance, and sometimes a bit of tobacco or a glass of Schiedam schnapps, by circulating information regarding the "letter list." It was a curious sight, these old depositories of commercial speculations and homely friendships. Many were the neglected letters which were taken and examined by the simple-hearted old burghers, until the superscriptions were entirely defaced by the handling. Crabbed writing must, under the best circumstances, have made the characteristic and familiar Holland names of Guysbert van Imbroecken and Ryndert Jansen van Hooghten appear very much like an imitation of a Virginia fence; but when these same letters became here and there defaced and stained by soiling fingers, the superscription must have been a jumble indeed. It is asserted, however, that the possible contents of these "literary orphans" were sources of infinite gossip to the loungers at the tavern, for they would sit silently and smoke for long hours thinking over the important matter, occasionally uttering the vague speculation that they "were written by somebody;" and after this severe effort of conjectural thought would lapse again into dreamy somnolency.

The tradition, however, is doubtful that the earlier Dutch governors received their official dispatches through the coffee-house delivery, and continued so to do up to the time of the testy and resolute Stuyvesant, who conceived the idea that more rapid communication with the gubernatorial headquarters might be had by sending these important documents, without any circumlocution, to his official residence.

• For many years, even after the English took possession of New York, the coffee-house delivery was really the people's institution for the distribution of written information. The custom continued with the population of the seaport towns of turning out and greeting the arrival of every important vessel, and there followed the consequent exchange of congratulations, inquiries, and letters; and even after a more comprehensive and responsible system was demanded, it was difficult to get the people to wholly change their old and confirmed ways, to depart from habits associated with so many pleasant traditions.

But this simple style of conducting business gradually became inefficient; and the "mother country," after England assumed the maternal position, turned its attention to the establishment of post-offices throughout the few and sparsely settled portions of the colonies. At this period, toward the close of the seventeenth century (1672), New York boasted of five thousand inhabitants. Both Philadelphia and Boston were her superiors in population and commercial importance, and their citizens entered upon the new arrangements with actively expressed zeal. But New York in spirit remained a mere village, for its old population was quite satisfied with things as they were, and resolutely maintained its correspondence, whenever it was possible, through private means. An innovation on this custom was evidently made by an official order, issued in 1686, that ship-letters *must* be sent to the custom-house; and we presume that the municipal government came to the rescue in 1692, by passing an act establishing a post-office.

In the year 1710 the Postmaster-General of Great Britain directed the establishment of a "chief letter office" in the city of New York, Philadelphia having been previously made the headquarters of the colonial organization. In the succeeding year arrangements were completed for the delivery of the

Boston mail twice a month, and propositions to establish a *foot* post to Albany were advertised. The *New York Gazette*, for the week ending the 3d of May, 1732, has the following interesting advertisement:

"The New York Post-office will be removed to-morrow to the uppermost of the two houses on Broadway, opposite Beaver Street.

RICHARD NICHOL, Esq., P. M."

In 1740 a complete road was "blazed" from Paulus Hook (Jersey City) to Philadelphia, over which road, without any stated intervals of time, the mail was carried on horseback between Philadelphia and New York.

Twenty-one years (1753) after the notice we have quoted of the removal of the New York post-office to Broadway we find it still in the same location, but designated as being opposite Bowling Green, and that it would be open every day, save Saturday afternoon and Sunday, from 8 to 12 A. M., except on post nights, when attendance would be given until ten at night. Signed, Alexander Colden, Deputy-postmaster, and Secretary and Comptroller.

Dr. Franklin must have been very active in the establishment of postal facilities throughout the colonies; for in the year 1753, much to his personal satisfaction, he was appointed Postmaster-General, with a small salary, which, it was quaintly added, "he could have if he could get it." But in spite of the establishment of a city post forty years previously, New York did not attract any special attention, and the revenues derived therefrom are not mentioned, while those of Boston and Philadelphia have frequent notice. It is probable that the municipal and the colonial authorities carried on much of their correspondence through agents, who were left to their own ways, the habits of the mass of the people confining them to their old notions of volunteer distribution, which was also encouraged by the high rates of postage. So long, indeed, did the coffee-house delivery maintain its popularity, that we find "the constituted officials" complaining of the fact as injuring the revenue, and finally an attempt was made to break up the custom by the publication of severe penalties.

In Dr. Franklin's celebrated examination before the House of Commons committee on the situation of the colonies we find the following questions and answers, evidently aimed at the coffee-house distribution of letters:

COMMITTEE—Do not letters often come into the post-offices of America directed to inland towns where no post goes?

DR. FRANKLIN—Yes.

COMMITTEE—Can any private person take up these letters and carry them as directed?

DR. FRANKLIN—Yes, a friend of the person may do it, paying the postage that has accrued.

But for many years, in spite of this governmental opposition, New York city kept up the custom. The coffee-houses maintained their popularity. To them resorted the chief men and the wits of the town. At them were to be met the sea-captains and strangers from abroad, and gossip answered the place of the daily paper; and there was kept up the "card-rack," sticking full of letters and business notices; nor would public opinion severely condemn this custom, so peculiar to New York. Even the first Tontine Coffee-house, as it was called, had its place for exchanging letters. It was not until it was

found out by experience that a well-regulated city post was safer, of less trouble, and more expeditious, that the coffee-house letter distribution came to an end.

The oppressions of the colonies by the British Government occasioned a novel form of indignation, which expressed itself by the decided patronage of what appears to have been a "continental post," which was carried on in opposition to the one under the control of the English Postmaster-general, for we find a notice that the deputy of the British Government was vainly endeavoring to keep up a post-office.

Alexander Colden remained postmaster up to the breaking out of the Revolution, for in the year previous (1775) his name appears in the *Gazette* in connection with the office, and with the additional one of agent for the English packets, which sailed once a month.

Upon the British troops taking possession of New York, the old record of the post-office disappears. For seven years it was abolished by the exactions of the provost-marshal, and little correspondence ensued not connected with the movements of troops. William Bedlow was the first postmaster after the close of the war, as his name appears in that connection in 1785; but in the succeeding year (1786) Sebastian Bauman was postmaster; and in the first directory of the city ever published—in which we find nine hundred and twenty-six names of citizens, the members of Congress, etc., John Hancock, Esq., President—is the following advertisement:

ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES OF THE MAILS AT THE POST-OFFICE IN NEW YORK.

ARRIVALS.

FROM NEW ENGLAND AND ALBANY.

From November 1st to May 1st.

On Wednesday and Saturday, at seven o'clock P. M.

From May 1st to November 1st.

On Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, at eight o'clock P. M.

FROM THE SOUTHWARD.

From November 1st to May 1st.

On Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at nine o'clock P. M.

DEPARTURES.

FOR NEW ENGLAND AND ALBANY.

From November 1st to May 1st.

On Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday, at ten o'clock A. M.

From May 1st to November 1st.

On Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday, at ten o'clock P. M.

FOR THE SOUTHWARD.

From November 1st to May 1st.

On Sunday and Thursday, at two o'clock P. M.

From May 1st to November 1st.

On Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at four o'clock P. M.

. Letters must be in the office half an hour before closing.

Congress in those early days was more considerate of the personal comforts of the post-office clerks than at the present time; for, with business that was scarcely worth noticing under the head of "labor," that deliberative body found heart to pass a solemn act directing "that all letters left at the post a half hour before the time of making up the mail must be forwarded therein." Therefore, advertised the sagacious Sebastian Bauman, all letters left at the office not conformable with this act will be left over until the next post! The income of the New York post-office the first year (1786) of this most excellent red-tape official was two thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine dollars and eighty-four cents; and from this amount, as a starting-point, can be correctly estimated the annual increase of the postal business of New York City.

On the 30th of April, 1788, Washington was inaugurated President, and the establishment of the General Post-office as now organized immediately followed. Samuel Osgood was appointed Postmaster-General, and assumed his duties in the city of New York under the tuition of Sebastian Bauman. What should be done with this important official was evidently a subject of Congressional discussion; for we find officially recorded, that "the Postmaster-general shall not keep any office separate from the one in which the mails arriving in New York are opened and distributed, that he may by his presence prevent irregularities, and rectify mistakes which may occur." In fact, this now most important officer of the General Government, and his solitary assistant and one clerk, then had nothing to do; so they took their first lessons in the service in the post-office of the city of New York. At this time there were throughout the United States seventy-five legally established post-offices and one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five miles of post-office routes.

In a very short time the national capital was transferred to Philadelphia, which had three penny-post carriers when New York had one—suggestive data of the comparative importance of the two cities at that time. The Southern or Philadelphia mail left New York daily; the Eastern mail tri-weekly; special mails for New Jersey and Long Island once a week. Mails to Albany were carried on horseback—contractor's remuneration, "postage collected."

"Colonel" Sebastian Bauman disappears in 1804; and his successor, Josias Ten Eyck, after what was to the public probably an uneventful year, gave way to General Theodorus Bailey, who received his appointment January 2d, 1804, and who satisfactorily performed the duties of his office for nearly a quarter of a century. General Bailey was a gentleman of high standing in the community. He was a member of the House of Representatives two sessions, and a United States Senator in 1803, which position he held one year, and then resigned to assume the duties of postmaster.

The post-office was removed from Broadway by General Bailey, who established it in a house he had purchased, 29 William Street, corner of Garden, now Exchange Place. The building, even at that early day, was considered and spoken of as an "old-fashioned house." The windows were wide apart, and between the two on the lower story was a narrow door, the entrance of which was protected by a stoop lined with the usual wooden benches. A single dormer-window broke up the monotony of the peaked roof. The window frame on the left of the door was divided into the novelty of small boxes

(now for the first time introduced), one hundred and forty-four in number. The office occupied was twelve feet in width and fifteen deep. The room was so small that it soon became overcrowded, and the increase of the newspaper mail became so great that William Coleman, publisher of the *Evening Post*, who kept a book-store corner of William and Wall Streets, used to take the accumulated newspapers, generally of an entire week, over to his store, and assort them at his leisure, tying up each distribution with a string, and then sending them back to the post-office to be distributed through the mails.

General Bailey occupied the upper part of the house with his family. In accordance with the custom of those times, between twelve and one o'clock he closed up the lower part of the door and joined his family at dinner. If any parties were delayed by this attention to refreshments, they would, if strangers, reach around, and, seizing hold of the huge lion-headed knocker, make a clatter that could be heard a block away. If the solitary clerk answered this clamor, he generally remarked that the banks closed between twelve and one, and why shouldn't the post-office? and, with other evidences of dissatisfaction, would dismiss the impatient citizens. But if General Bailey was forced to reply, he would answer the call with the courtliness of an officer of the army associated with General Washington, and he would dismiss the inquirer, after written and sealed information with the same old-school bow with which he would have delivered an order from head-quarters or a bouquet to a lady. If any of General Bailey's personal acquaintances happened to call in an unpropitious hour, and no one was in attendance, they would help themselves, carefully leaving the money for postage on the table, which occupied almost the entire interior of the room.

The establishment of the "embargo" in the year 1807 paralyzed all business, and, of course, seriously affected that of the post-office. From this time onward for several years there was little that occurred of general interest. It was not until the agitation of the right of the British Government to impress seamen sailing under the American flag that New York was aroused from what seemed to be a chronic apathy, and the name of General Bailey, the postmaster, suddenly appears, among others, attached to certain resolutions resenting this monstrous assumption on the part "of the self-styled mistress of the seas." The War of 1812 followed, and the post-office business continued to suffer. The clerical force, in consequence, was reduced one-third by the dismissal of a junior clerk; Archibald Forrester, one of the two retained, acting occasionally as a volunteer in throwing up earthworks "above King's Bridge," and again in superintending laborers engaged in constructing the round fort which still adorns the Battery. Jimmy Mower, the junior clerk, was drafted, but saved his place by hiring a substitute. Thus the post-office took a front rank in the patriotic efforts made to save the national honor. This war excitement had a healthy action on the country; the post-office business began to increase, and from that time steadily developed in importance.

In the summer of 1822 the city was desolated by the yellow fever, and was almost absolutely deserted by its population. The infected district was separated from the outer world by a high board fence, which ran across the city through the line of Duane, and what was then known as Harrison Street. Persons who had the temerity to climb to the top of this barricade relate that in the height of the plague not a living person could be seen. The post-office, for

the public accommodation, was moved to Greenwich village, the desks, mail-bags, and all making hardly enough to overcrowd a modern furniture cart. The building temporarily appropriated was a handsome two-story frame-house erected for a bank but not occupied, situated corner of Asylum, now Fourth, and what was subsequently known as Bank Street.

[This house, the last of the old homesteads remaining below Thirty-seventh Street, is now (January, 1872) in process of demolition on the corner of Fourth Street and West Tenth. It was a wide, one story frame building, with peaked roof and verandah front, and was considered the most beautiful residence of ancient Gotham. The grounds around it, consisting of several acres, were laid out regardless of expense. Besides flowers innumerable, they contained every known variety of choice fruit-trees, and its fish-ponds were the wonder of the period. There being no Croton, a large number of cisterns were sunk at great outlay to supply these with water. It was erected by Garret Gilbert, a well-known personage who flourished seventy-five years ago. He did not enjoy it long, however, as he soon ran through his large fortune, and the property was sold at auction to the late Senator Marcus Spencer, whom many of the old residents of the city will remember. In 1822, during the prevalence of the yellow fever, as stated in the text, it was temporarily taken possession of by the United States authorities, who established the post-office there, out of the reach of the epidemic. Senator Spencer and his family continued to reside in the house until twelve years ago, when he died. It then passed into the possession of Dr. Hall, the Senator's son-in-law, who now owns it.—*Note by the Author.*]

The magnificent trees which surrounded the house still have representatives standing in Hammond Street. Between Greenwich village and New York at that time was a vast tract of unoccupied and broken land. Woodcock and snipe "from the Jerseys" still found shelter in the marshes, the waters of which drained through old Canal Street.

When the yellow fever was raging, the rural population of the village, much to their annoyance, found their houses filled with people flying for their lives; these inflictions were borne with patience, since any fears were quieted by liberal pay for shelter; but when the post-office arrived, followed by the fear-stricken clerks, they concluded that disaster had indeed fallen in their midst, and that the letters and those grim road-worn mail-bags were but seeds and depositories of pestilence. With the sharp, biting frosts of the latter part of November the post-office was removed back to its old quarters.

In the year 1825 there was an imperative demand for better, or rather for more roomy, accommodations, and the Government leased the "Academy Building," opposite Dr. Matthew's church in Garden (now Exchange) Street. The free school which had been its occupant for many previous years was under the control of the "Reformed Dutch Consistory." It was a two-story wooden building, and familiar to the youthful population, and especially "the rising young men," for they had one and all within its inclosure been more or less severely disciplined in the principles of a useful education, and had been physically invigorated by the virtues of a sound thrashing.

The front of the building had some pretensions to novelty by slight attempts at ornamentation, and the unusual covering of a flat roof. On one side was a small pen, through which was the entrance into the yard, and underneath was a sort of dungeon for the confinement, if so ordered, of fractious boys, whom reason, mingled with Scripture, worldly advice, and birchen rods, had failed to reform. On the opposite side was Postmaster Bailey's residence, a

narrow two-story house, with a single dormer-window, and a cellar in the basement, protected from observation by doors which, from their propitious angle, formed the "summer sliding-pond" of young New York.

In this new location two windows were knocked into one, and the acquired space was filled up with nine hundred letter-boxes, and, to the astonishment of many, they were soon leased for business purposes. To make everything satisfactory to the public, General Bailey obtained permission from the Government to build a wooden shed over the sidewalk, so that people waiting at the delivery window were protected from the snow and rain. At this time there were eight clerks—W. B. Taylor, Joseph Dodd, George Abell, Courter Goodwin, W. S. Dunham; James Lynch, James Mower, and Charles Forrester. On the 1st of January, 1871, three of these clerks, after forty-five years of faithful service, were still at work, viz., W. B. Taylor, Joseph Dodd, and Charles Forrester; the two last named are all that are left of those who were on duty in the first quarter of the century.

In those days the prevailing spirit was one of quiet. There was not apparently even a foreshadowing of the "lightning speed" which is characteristic of every event of this generation; for, thirty or forty years ago, a voyage from Liverpool to New York was "rapid" if accomplished within two months, and quite satisfactory if not prolonged to ninety days. Even after the lapse of this last-mentioned time there was no anxiety in the minds of self-possessed friends. The vessel, they would say, has met with some accident and put in at Fayal, of Azores or Western Islands, then a sort of half-way station, where ships and passengers alike rested from their fatigues. After repairing sails and cordage, and supplying the exhausted stores of provisions, the good ship and easy-going passengers would renew their slow progress westward, possibly consuming a third of a year in the voyage. It was after one of these "long-drawn-out events," when the skipper probably consumed more time to get his craft from Sandy Hook to the "Dover-street Dock" than is now necessary to make the entire voyage across the Atlantic, that a passenger, evidently born out of his time, so fully realized the misery of the programme that he indignantly, and with some tendency to hyperbole, asserted, "that if all the trees in the world were pens, and all the men in the world scribes, and all the water in the sea ink, they couldn't explain the calamity of such a voyage."

There were no telegraphs, no speedy movements by the aid of steam, and consequently nothing of what is now designated newspaper enterprise. As a consequence, the people, even like their Knickerbocker predecessors, depended upon, and were quite satisfied to wait upon, chance for information. A well-known citizen "from the interior," now designated the "rural districts," was button-holed ("interviewed," we would say) under the post-office shed regarding the corn and potato crop of his section. A "Southerner," or a live sea-captain, or a passenger "just from Europe," were severally perfect magazines of news. Information thus obtained—if used with spirit—would frequently appear within a week or ten days. Here at the post-office was to be met, every pleasant morning, Charles King of the *American*, Redwood Fisher of the *Daily Advertiser*, and the pleasantest man of all the press, Major Mordecai M. Noah of the *Courier*, and other distinguished editors, who, having exchanged the ordinary courtesies of the day, would in an oracular manner give utterance to startling political or social observations, the pleasant interlude very likely ter-

minating in a practical joke, profanely indulged in by an irreverent bank clerk, or valuable assistant of a popular auctioneer.

But the post-office had among its clerks Jimmy Mower. He was a smart business man, of wonderful capacity for work, and of the most equable good nature. In addition, he was pretty well read; he boasted that he got his information in connection with his business of distributing the newspapers. One of his jokes grew out of the fact that in the war he was drafted, but, to avoid the responsibility, hired a substitute, who was killed at the famous sortie on Fort Erie, Canada frontier, and consequently that he (Jimmy Mower) had been killed in the service of his country, and that his bones were absolutely whitening on the battle-field. His efforts to get a pension for his heirs and get his post-office pay at the same time proved a puzzler to the best legal minds. The fashion of the times was rather "stately," but Mower, dead as he was, had life enough in him to amuse his fellow-clerks by sometimes joining in the conversations held under the shed outside of the post-office, and turning what was serious into ridicule. He generally hallooed his remarks through a broken pane of glass, at the same time making his hands almost invisible in the distribution of mail matter.

He was popular with the crowd, and if he could give the erudite Charles King, or the subtle Redwood Fisher, or the worthy Major Noah what the "boys" termed a "side-winder," it would set the post-office congregation in a roar. If Jimmy was turned on by some indignant individual who didn't see his joke, the light-hearted official retreated to the interior of the post-office, leaving the vehement eloquence intended for his head to be expended against the obtruding glass. Colonel Dodd and Charley Forrester, who are still clerks in the post-office, were great admirers of Jimmy Mower, and they still insist, after forty-five years of serious reflection on the subject, that Mower was the smartest man they ever knew, and that in his fights with "the editors and the big-bugs" he always got the advantage.

The post-office now began to be an institution, and this growing importance was pleasant to General Bailey, who, with more enlarged quarters and a private house entirely at his disposal, seemed to grow more courtly than ever, and dispensed his pleasant hospitality of conversation from the benches of his front-door, where he could often be seen side by side with the Clintons, the Willetts, and Schuylers, indulging in mutual congratulations upon the growth of the city and country, both of which they had assisted to rescue from colonial dependence and place on the high-road to national greatness.

At that time there were six letter-carriers, the extreme up-town boundary of their field of labor being a straight line crossing the island at Catharine and Canal Streets. Colonel Reeside was now becoming of national importance by his connection with the Post-office Department. He carried the great Southern mail through from Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, delivering it by contract at Paulus Hook (Jersey City). Here it was taken possession of by Colonel Dodd, who brought over the bags in a skiff, and then trundled them up to Garden Street in a wheelbarrow.

At the foot of Rivington Street, in the year 1825, was an important spot of high ground, known as "Manhattan Island"—a place where were located the ship-yards, among them the large one belonging to Henry Eckford. The proprietors of these yards had an extensive correspondence with the South, espe-

[The following text is extremely faint and largely illegible due to the quality of the scan. It appears to be a continuous block of text, possibly a letter or a chapter section, spanning the majority of the page. The text is organized into several paragraphs, with some lines indented. A small, dark mark is visible near the center of the page, possibly a scanning artifact or a small object on the paper.]

cially with Georgia and Florida, from which States they obtained their fat pine and live-oak used in ship-building. Mr. Charles Forrester, more than forty years an employé of the post-office, and who still performs his daily and arduous duties, then a boy, lived in the suburbs, and he would bring up the letters directed to these ship-builders, carry them across the wet meadows that lined the eastern side of the island, and deliver them to their owners.

The year 1825 was made memorable by the fact that Colonel Reeside obtained the contract to carry the mails from Boston to New York, the route being over the old post-road. Reeside's stages were very showy, drawn by four blooded Virginia horses, and driven by the most accomplished "Jehus."

On pleasant summer afternoons the people confined to the lower part of the island would purposely walk up the Bowery to see the "Boston mail" come in. Some time before the vehicle reached the old lay-scales, just where the Cooper Institute now stands, the driver would herald his approach by a melodious winding of his horn; then, laying aside this vulgar instrument, he would assume his legitimate scepter, the whip, which he would harmlessly crack over the heads of his spirited steeds with a noise that, on a clear day, could be "heard a mile."

On Saturdays the jolly school boys and girls would gather together under the tall poplars and button-wood trees, and as the stage dashed along they would wave their hands as a welcome, and the most venturesome would catch hold of the straps, and thus have the glory of riding a few yards under the overhanging "boot." The characteristic gamins of that period would evince their enthusiasm by following the coach and rollicking in the dust of its revolving wheels; would cheer it and its passengers to the end of the route; and especially was this the case when the driver would make purposely-abortive attempts to drive these human flies away with his whip, or a jocose passenger would bandy wit with the boys, and make them crazy with delight by the scattering of a few pennies in the road.

In the winter these gay coaches were put aside, and in their place was a huge box on wheels, the combination not unlike a hearse, in the heart of which was deposited the load. The practice then was to abandon passengers, when the roads were heavy from mud and rain, and carry the mails; but now-a-days, if the reports from many of the existing stage routes be true, under unfavorable circumstances the drivers abandon the mails to carry the passengers. Amos Kendall, the indefatigable Postmaster-general, by his industry and good management, reduced the carrying time between New York and New Orleans from sixteen to seven days. The event was celebrated at the Merchants' Exchange and the post-office by the raising of the national standard, and there was a general rejoicing in Wall Street. Jimmy Mower had his joke by gravely asserting, that all newspapers delivered at the office from New Orleans less than sixteen days old were printed at the *Advertiser* office.

Progress was now perceptible in the whole city, in the evident growth of wealth and population. The merchants (1825) were suddenly inspired with the ambition to have an Exchange worthy of their increasing importance, and an honor to the growing metropolis. To realize this idea they purchased a lot of seventy feet fronting on Wall Street, and at that time practically between William and Pearl Streets. The foundations of the building were laid with imposing ceremonies, and its gradual erection, joined with the promising

grandeur, was to the citizens a source of daily surprise and self-congratulation. In due time the structure was completed, and to give proper importance to the event, and a characteristic recognition of one of New York's greatest financiers and lawyers, a marble statue of Alexander Hamilton was placed conspicuously under the dome.

The "solid men" went from this stately pile around to the humble post-office in Garden Street, and the board front and "shanty" shed became distasteful to their eyes and unworthy of the city. This public sentiment was utilized into well-written articles for the newspapers, and the people grew suddenly ambitious for a better and more convenient post-office. The merchants favored the idea, and a part of the basement of the new Exchange was leased to the Federal Government, and in the year 1827 the post-office was established in its new and excellent quarters.

Wall Street at this time presented a picturesque mingling of the highest social life with churches, banks, and business stores combined. That it was in a transition state was apparent, yet we much doubt if the fact was fully realized by even the most sagacious citizens. The monetary institutions had a solid, unpretentious look, and the buildings in which they were lodged, in some instances, were occupied in their upper stories by the presidents or cashiers with their families. Then our most solid merchants did not find it inconsistent to live over their stores, and have at their tables their confidential clerks. Large trees still shaded the sidewalks, and private residences were to be seen, at the windows of which, after business hours, the ladies of the household presented themselves, or, standing at the front-door, according to the early custom of New York, chatted with neighbors. "Wall Street Church" and grounds occupied half the block that reached from Nassau to Broadway; while over the whole towered the venerable pile known as "Old Trinity," its grave-yard adding to the rural aspect, and giving an air of quiet to the surroundings. The Merchants' Exchange occupied only the eastern half of the square on which it was built; and directly adjoining it was a little candy shop, where they sold spruce-beer and "taffy" by the penny's worth. Then came the shop of a fashionable haberdasher, and on the corner was Benedict's well-known watch establishment, the regulator of which governed Wall Street time.

In the rear of the eastern corner of the basement of the Exchange was located the celebrated lunch-room of Charley King. How his restaurant would compare with the more pretentious ones of modern date we will not assert; but for hearty good-will, substantial fare, high respectability, and unquestioned manners, the proprietors of this now almost forgotten lunch-room have not, since its destruction, been surpassed. In the basement corner of Wall and Hanover Streets James Buchanan, British consul, and David Hale, printed a paper with the happily selected name of *Journal of Commerce*. It was at the commencement an unpretending sheet, and from the fact that it was semi-religious in its tone, and refused advertisements for the sale of liquors, was assumed to be a "temperance sheet." Among the well-known characters then living in New York was one "Johnny Edwards, scale-beam maker." He lived "up town," in the vicinity of what is now known as Fourth Street and Second Avenue. He was a man of the most harmless eccentricity, dressing himself in a Quaker garb, and riding about in a rickety old gig. He used

sometimes to come down to Wall Street in business hours, and, taking advantage of the crowd in front of the Exchange, would proceed to harangue the "thoughtless generation" on the virtues of his patent scale beams, and the necessities of temperance. As he clinched his argument regarding temperance with the distribution of tracts, he took great umbrage at the assumptions of the *Journal of Commerce*, pronouncing it a rival sheet on the great subject of temperance. The crowd enjoyed these interruptions of the usual routine of the street, to the great annoyance of David Hale, who considered the whole thing an undignified travesty on his gravely attempted efforts to bring about a moral reform.

Even at this dawning era the spirit of New York was unambitious, and the people, with few exceptions, were evidently unconscious of the changes in its character which were impending. One mail delivery a day was all the merchants demanded. The newspapers were rarely excited about the receipt of their exchanges. The hurry and bustle and anxiety which now pervades Wall Street were totally unknown. Groups were constantly in and about the Exchange conversing upon trivial matters; the merry, hearty laugh was heard time and again through the day, expressing admiration of harmless jokes uttered by persons at the time enjoying the hospitality of Charley King's lunch; while the clerks, less able to pay, made merry at Billy Niblo's, or Clark and Brown's, where for a sixpence they commanded a plentiful dish of Fulton Market beef, and trimmings to match; and, if extravagantly inclined, they would pay another sixpence for a cup of coffee and a cruller, to make the equal of which has ceased to be possible outside of the "kitchen-houses" belonging to our old population.

The Exchange had a narrow front on the street, and ran through to Garden. The entrance to the basement was under a circular opening, which was made of the arch which supported the steps that led up to the rotunda. The post-office was established in the rear eastern half of the basement, where it had ample room and much to spare. Two delivery windows were established, and three thousand boxes for the accommodation of the merchants; and so seemingly enormous had now become the business that twenty-two clerks were employed, and twenty-two letter-carriers, whose routes now reached up as high as Houston and Ninth, now Fourth Street. Now for the first time was found a demand for the assignment of a clerk wholly to a special duty, and "little Sam Gouverneur" was appointed to the exclusive care of the money department, and dignified with the title of "cashier."

To facilitate the arrival and departure of the mails, and give light to that part of the basement occupied by the post-office, what is now known as Hanover Street (which had, thirty years previously, been used by foot passengers as a short-cut to Hanover Square) was cleared out and made a street, and a small court on this side of the Exchange conveniently opened itself for the accommodation of the wagons and other vehicles employed by the post-office.

General Bailey, who had been an acceptable and honored postmaster almost a quarter of a century, full of years and honors, on the 4th of September, 1828, passed away. The veterans of the Revolution, as they now began to be called, State and city soldiery, the various civic societies, and representatives of the army and navy, vied with each other in paying to his memory every possible respect. General Jackson, in compliment to ex-President Monroe, who was

then living, appointed his son-in-law, Samuel L. Gouverneur, to succeed General Bailey. With this event the old-times' history of the post-office of New York may be said to have passed away.

* * * * *

The windows of the post-office for the distribution of letters and the selling of stamps "in sums less than one dollar," are interesting places to study the cosmopolitan character of our busy population. It is not uncommon to witness people of every nationality "in line," waiting for their turn to inquire for correspondence. The ladies' window is especially a center of observation; and the appearance of the sex dressed in gay colors and wreathed in smiles lightens up the otherwise care-worn, pell-mell, rushing, and sombre-looking crowd. Here the "young lady of the period" contrasts with the old crone whose undutiful son is "off at sea." The widow in her weeds throws sly glances at the dashing clerk; her hopefulness of the future contrasting strongly with the face of the suffering wife, who, sad and discontented, turns abruptly away because her absent spouse "had failed to write."

During the rebellion the post-office clerks, by virtue of their duties, were often made unwilling participants in many sad scenes and associations. There was a terrible significance in the hymn or prayer-book returned "from the front," often saturated with blood or marred by the bullet. Then there were the packets of unclaimed letters, dictated by loving, patriotic hearts, returned to the mother, wife, or sweetheart of the soldier, bearing the formal but terrible indorsement of the adjutant of the regiment, of "William Brown, killed in battle." It was often almost like stabbing the recipients to the heart to hand them such a fatal gift, and the look of unutterable anguish that sometimes followed haunted the day musings and midnight dreams of the sympathizing official. But there sometimes, nay, often, came a letter that conveyed to wife and family a respite to agonizing suspense, and then the old post-office was for the moment bright, and the dangers of war for an instant were forgotten. Lessons of human nature are taught at the delivery window of a post-office in the classified peculiarities of the universal patrons of the "republic of letters," among which are developed the common facts, that "clergymen, as a class, and women, universally, are the most difficult to please!" Certainly they seem to complain the most.

Romantic incidents are not unusual in the history of specific mails. When the Japanese empire was opened to the outside world, the first mail from that legendary country was sent to New York in a sailing vessel *via* San Francisco, Panama, and Aspinwall. By a coincidence a mail from China *via* England arrived at the post-office simultaneously, and the written ideas and wishes of these two Oriental nations for the moment reposed side by side. In their route of destination they separated, and made the circuit of the world, to meet again in our great Western city of "mushroom barbarians." But speculation is brief in the post-office when work is to be done; the words, "Who separates?" are heard, the "travelers" are "broken up," and, piecemeal, sent to their various destinations. Some years since a steamer running between Liverpool and Quebec was involved in a terrible storm that swept over the mouth of the St. Lawrence. The stanch ship was lost, and all living creatures on board perished. Two months afterward the divers, among other things, recovered from the wreck the New York city mail, and it was promptly forwarded to its place of

destination. When opened the contents were found comparatively safe; the letters were carefully dried and duly distributed; and these frail, delicate, paper memorials of thought remained intact, while the iron-ribbed ship and the brave men who commanded her still repose in their ocean grave. * *

The discipline and efficiency of the city post is shown in the reminiscence that, twenty years ago, before there was a postal treaty with England, people in that country, according to their caprice, indorsed on the outside of their letters by what line of steamers they desired them to be sent. By some accident neither of the two composing the American line crossed from England in six months! The consequence was an extraordinary accumulation of letters indorsed "by American steamer;" and when the *Washington* did reach this port, having "broken her shaft, and been frozen up in the harbor of Bremen," she had a six months' mail on board. This enormous collection of letters was taken to the post-office, and the clerks, without neglecting their daily routine duties and working "overtime," distributed this accumulation in *ten days*! The same number of letters, without interfering with the daily business of the office, would now be distributed in *one hour*! Instead of there being as formerly only a few straggling letters, two hundred and fifty thousand postage stamps are, on an average, daily canceled, and that is a representation of the number of *domestic* letters delivered at the post-office every twenty-four hours. It costs the government sixty thousand dollars annually for cartage to haul this vast amount of mail matter to the stations and railway lines.* One

* As a post-office and a railroad depot are naturally connected—the one distributing the mails and the other conveying them—the following account of the GRAND CENTRAL DEPOT, which was referred to in Chapter XIV., Part III., as having been opened to the public in 1871, is in point. The Grand Central Depot on Forty-second Street and Fourth Avenue serves as a central depot for the Hudson River, Harlem, and New Haven Railroads. Without much pretension to architectural elegance, it is commodious and well adapted to the purposes for which it was designed, and perhaps we ought not to ask much more from a railroad depot.

The building was projected by Commodore VANDERBILT, and constructed under the supervision of Mr. W. H. VANDERBILT. Ground was broken November 15th, 1869, and the depot was ready for occupation October 9th, 1871. The entire building is 695 feet long and 240 feet wide; the space for the accommodation of trains is 610 feet by 200, the rest of the building being devoted to offices, waiting-rooms, etc. The height of the main body of the depot, from the ground to the top of the roof, is 100 feet, while that of the central tower on Forty-second Street is 160 feet to the apex of the roof, and 290 feet to the top of the flag-staff. The roof of the main body of the structure—the car-house, as it is called—is supported by thirty-one immense and strong iron trusses, each weighing about forty tons. As it would have been extremely difficult to raise such huge masses at once, each truss was lifted to its position in sections by derricks mounted on a movable staging. About eight million pounds of iron were used in the construction of the depot, ten million bricks, and 20,000 barrels of cement. There are 80,000 feet of glass in the roof, by which the whole building is abundantly lighted during the daytime, while at night it is brilliantly illuminated by means of the electrical light.

That part of the building which fronts on Forty-second Street is to be occupied by the N. York and New Haven Railroad; that on Central Avenue by the Hudson River and Harlem roads. To accommodate the immense number of passengers arriving and departing by these roads there are thirty-one entrances to the building, and the waiting-rooms are all that could be desired for comfort and convenience. The building is heated by steam, circulated through every part of it by about 75,000 feet of pipe. The union of the three depots, by which these railroads have a common terminus in this city, will be of great advantage to the traveling public.—*Note by the Author.*

comparative statement more: The city of New York is divided into twelve postal stations, each one having its distinct officer and clerks. Station A, situated in the heart of New York, does a larger business than either of the cities of Buffalo, New Haven, Hartford, Hudson, or Troy. Such is the epitomized history, illustrated by the post-office, of the growth and prosperity of the city of New York.

APPENDIX V.

REMINISCENCES OF McDONALD CLARKE,

THE MAD POET.

A WRITER in the *New York Evening Post*, for June 2d, 1868, says:

My reminiscences, going back some forty years, include that somewhat noted character McDonald Clarke, a poetic scintillator of somewhat odd fancies, who kept the town laughing while he sometimes was starving.

His poetic figure is before me as I saw it in Broadway. There he stood near St. Paul's—his pedestal the curbstone, his pose and style the favorite attitude of the classic Napoleon, with arms folded. Yet his head rested not upon his bosom, but was lifted to the stars; on his feet were no two boots or shoes, but one boot and one shoe. This eccentricity, more than the character of his verses, caused his soubriquet of "The Mad Poet."

Now, why McDonald favored this oneness of articles generally duplex was quite the talk of the town, as much so as the curtailment of the tail of the cur of Alcibiades in the days of the ancient Greeks. Alcibiades gave a reason. McDonald never did, at least so far as I have heard. There were mystery, symbol, poetry, humanity, many social problems in that one boot and one shoe. The boys kicked all these to the winds, and said McDonald was "cracked." The boot might have been cracked and so might the shoe, but a more whole-souled fellow than McDonald I never knew.

I have some of his verses with which he bespangled the newspapers of the time. There have been some poets who wrote for the million, but I am confident McDonald never obtained half the sum. His topics covered all creation, and he was somewhat in the clothes-line. One of his invocations to a heroic purchaser to deal with a tailor proclaims that, when he is fitted:

"His royal Spanish cloak he'll fling
In the face of the stormy weather."

Another much admired couplet a little hangs upon the clothes-line, but reaches the dignity of a majestic personification. He is walking on the Battery

and somewhat mixing up the stars with tailors, as poets are apt to do. He breaks out into this splendid conception :

"Twilight has drawn her mantle round,
And pinned it with a silver star."

A Bohemian of the present day would run things into the ground, by rudely stating that Madame Demorest made the mantle and Tiffany sold the star, but McDonald delicately calls the poem "Evening," and leaves the rest to the sympathetic imagination.

Years had rolled on, and I had not seen McDonald. I heard incidentally that he had married an actress, who led him peculiarly to feel that all the world was her stage, and he only a supernumerary.

This did not alter his benevolent views of human nature, nor of the most sacred of all ordinances. In the lecturing era he came out with a lecture on "Love and Matrimony," which captivated the oyster-house wits and critics of Gotham, who attended with their "lady-loves" and gave him overflowing audiences.

When New York was exhausted, he turned his attention to Brooklyn. He secured Classical Hall, then the fashionable place for such exercises, and placarded and advertised extensively. The evening came, bright and pleasant, and there were three persons in the house, all told—two editors and the janitor—all "dead-heads." I shall never forget the amazed look with which he surveyed the long lines of empty benches. This soon gave way, however, to the accustomed sunburst of his cheerful aspect, and he mounted the rostrum and pronounced his whole performance, stretching over the space of an hour, with good manner and emphasis. He came down at the close, saluted his three auditors, said some jocose things, but nothing of discouragement, and vanished, promising to see me next day. Of this famous lecture I recollect but one point. He is declaiming against common ideas and false taste in regard to female beauty. Hear McDonald :

"There are some people (says he) who admire delicate little girls with jimpy waists, and infinitesimal feet which run in and out beneath their fur-belowes like mice, but (here the lecturer became the impassioned orator) *give me the girl with a waist like a cotton bag and a foot like a flounder.*"

He called to see me the next day, and for what purpose do you suppose? It was to propose a repetition of the lecture. His hopeful and ebullient nature had found special reasons for his ill-success, which would be overcome on a second experiment. Before settling this point he drifted off—"By-the-by, how did you like the lecture?" I praised its general tenor and salient points, but ventured to remark that I detected in certain passages a sad and monotonous undertone.

"Aye!" said he, "there it is, there it is! I thought so, I felt so. Now, Colonel, look here. There is no use trying to conceal it. I am, you know, a perfect child of nature. I always was so. Now you must have understood my situation. Look at it. I had come to Brooklyn expecting to see the house crowded from pit to dome! What did I encounter? Ye gods! I thought I was in the wrong place; had got into the school-house after it was dismissed. But there were yourself, and A—, and B— (pardon me, all dead-heads), and

Having my gun ready loaded, I thought I would fire it off. But all the while running through the lecture was 'room-hire,' 'janitor,' 'bill-sticker,' 'no money,' and such like things, which took from it all force and spirit. But you must hear me again under better circumstances. I must act as I feel. Oh, Colonel, sometimes I feel—I feel—I feel (here he was searching for a simile and got it) like the eternal lightning, and at other times I feel like a farthing candle." Give to this antithesis the roar of a bull of Bashan and the attitude of Jove clutching the thunderbolt, dwindled to the gentlest whisper and the posture of a poor devil boring a hole through the floor with his fore-finger, and you have his graphic delineation.

He was dissuaded from a second experiment.

I am inclined to think it was before this that he upset Johnny Lang and several others by a happy retort. Lang, in his *New York Gazette*, had alluded to him as "McDonald Clarke, that fellow with zigzag brains." The insulted poet rushed into the sanctum of Colonel Stone, of the *Commercial Advertiser*, blazing with fury.

"Do you see, Colonel," said he, "what Johnny Lang says of me? He calls me a fellow with zigzag brains."

"Well, you are," said the Colonel. "That's a happy description!"

"Oh! that's very well for you to say," replied McDonald. "I'll take a joke from you. But Johnny Lang shall not destroy my well-earned reputation. Zigzag brains, forsooth! Zigzag brains—think of it, Colonel! I must have a chance to reply to him in your paper."

"How much space would you want?" said the Colonel.

"I think I could use him up in a column and a half," said McDonald.

"A column and a half!" said the Colonel. "Stuff! you shall have no such space. I'll give you just four lines, and if that will answer fire away, but not a line more."

The poet, driven thus into a narrow corner, sat down and instantly perpetrated the following neat epigram—quite enough to immortalize him:

"I can tell Johnny Lang, in the way of a laugh,
In reply to his rude and unmannerly scrawl,
That in my humble sense it is better by half,
To have brains that are zigzag than to have none at all."

"There, Colonel," said he, "let Johnny Lang put that in his pipe and smoke it."

The last time I met him was two or three years before his death, on the familiar curb-tone of Broadway. His face was still sunny and genial, but he was rubbing his arms and chest. I ventured to suggest rheumatism. "Oh, no," said he; "I am very well. I sleep in an attic room in an old and very picturesque building, through the roof of which, that has considerably tumbled in, I can see the stars. This is delightful, but for the exceptions of showers and heavy rains. Last night I got to sleep, and when I woke up I was thoroughly drenched. I have since felt these pains over me; but the water couldn't have done the damage. I think it couldn't. Do you think it could?"

Simple child of nature. I left him rubbing his arms and laughing at the top of his bent. The next I heard of him he was dead, and dead of an injury which was more a shock to his sensitive moral nature than the rude blow or thrust of the hind who gave it was to his physical frame.

Why is it that if any man is known to be "cracked," or subject to any illusion or weakness, all the rest of the world, rejoicing in their pride of reason, delight to impose upon him by manifold cruel deceptions?

McDonald Clarke had really a handsome face and person, as the fine engraving by Peter Maverick from a picture by Inman clearly shows, and beginning life as a poet and lover of the human race, fell into the delusion of believing that one portion of that race—the gentler sex—was always disposed to fall in love with him. His life, therefore, was a series of adventures, in which it is pretty certain that the course of true love never did run smooth with him.

The wicked wags, those false friends who availed themselves of his weakness, persuaded him by many wiles and false lures, to believe that a lovely young lady on Broadway had fallen in love with him. The cross-gartering of Malvolio was nothing to the pranks they made him perform to win the notice of the high-born and proud lady. The plot culminated in an invitation (forged of course), to visit the young lady at her mansion. McDonald proceeded thither, kid-gloved, and dressed in two boots. The damsel, annoyed and forewarned, had given directions to the servants, if he ever appeared, to thrust him from the door, which it is said was done rudely and contumeliously.

Then came the breaking-up and a Greenwood funeral. For a time an unmarked grave stood on the border of the Sylvan Water. Over this was soon placed a tomb, surrounded by an iron railing, supplied by the gifts of friends. On one of the entablatures are the sentences: "Poor McDonald Clarke"—"Let silence gaze, but curse not his grave;" while his fine face in *bas relief*, on another, makes love to his beautiful neighbor, the Indian Princess *Dohumme*, who occupies the adjoining mound. Another of his verses is also fitly carved on his tomb:

"For what are earthly honors now?
He never deemed them worth his care,
And Death hath set upon his brow
The wreath he was too proud to wear."

MUSINGS AT THE HOUSE OF A FRIEND

In the midst of my troubles and pain
I welcome this fav'rite retreat,
Unmolested I here can attain
A solitude quiet and sweet.
No troublesome visitor calls,
No modest inquirers perplex,
No insolent gazers appall,
No official civilities vex.

'Tis no place for repining or sighs,
No murmurings fall on the ear,
Duty teaches the blessing to prize,
Shed for *others'* misfortune the tear;

Love, peace, and benevolence meet
In union delightful and rare ;
While religion provides them a sweet
To mix in the cup of their care.

You may call this a fanciful dream,
And say it exists not in life,
You may tell me mortality's stream
Is ever with concord at strife.
But God, as if willing to show
His blessing can quiet the stream,
Has here made it peacefully flow,
And experience has proved it no dream.

To Mrs. Stone—by Percival.

APPENDIX VI.

ii

WILLIAM KIDD, THE PIRATE.

63

ONE of the most terrible names in the juvenile literature of England and English America, during the last century and a half, has been that of William Kidd, the pirate. In the nursery legend, in story, and in song, his name has stood forth as the boldest and bloodiest of buccaneers. The terror of the ocean when abroad, the story said that he returned from his successive voyages to line our coasts with silver and gold, and to renew with the devil a league, cemented with the blood of victims shot down, whenever fresh returns of the precious metals were to be hidden. According to the superstitions of Connecticut and Long Island, it was owing to these bloody charms that honest money diggers have ever experienced so much difficulty in removing the buried treasures. Often, indeed, have the lids of the iron chests rung beneath the mattock of the stealthy midnight searcher for gold; but the flashes of sulphurous fires, blue and red, and the saucer eyes and chattering teeth of legions of demons, have uniformly interposed to frighten the delvers from their posts, and preserve the treasures from their greedy clutches. But notwithstanding the harrowing sensations connected with the name of Kidd, and his renown as a pirate, he was but one of the last and most inconsiderable of that race of sea-robbers, who, during a long series of years in the seventeenth century, were the admiration of the world for their prowess, and its terror for their crimes.

In the latter part of the seventeenth century Kidd was in command of a merchant vessel trading between New York and London, and was celebrated for his nautical skill and enterprise. The first mention of him in authentic colonial history occurs in 1691, in which year the *Journals of the New York Assembly* tell us that on the 18th day of April much credit was allowed to be due him "for the many good services done for the province in attending with his vessels." But in what capacity, or for what object he thus "attended with his vessels" does not appear. It was also declared that he "ought to be suitably rewarded." Accordingly, on the 14th of May following, it was ordered by the same Assembly "that the sum of £150 be paid to Captain Kidd, as a suitable

acknowledgment for the important benefits which the Colony had received from his services." The presumption is, that those services were in some way connected with the protection of the Colonial merchant vessels from the attacks of the pirates, who were at that time hovering along the coasts of the Northern Colonies. Indeed, the harbor of New York was no stranger to the pirate vessels; and the commerce between them and the "people of figure" in this city was not inconsiderable. It was no secret that the pirates were frequently in the Sound, and were freely supplied with provisions by the inhabitants of Long Island; and, still farther, it was well known in the year 1695, that the English freebooters had fitted out their vessels in the harbor of New York. On the arrival of the pirate vessels from their cruises their goods were openly sold in the city, and the conduct of the Colonial Government was such that collusion, if not direct partnerships, between them and the public authorities was not doubted.

Colonel Fletcher, a poor and profligate man, was Governor at that time. He was beyond doubt concerned with the freebooters, as also was William Nicoll, a member of the Privy Council. Complaints upon this subject having reached England, and the throne, in the year of 1695, Fletcher was succeeded by the Earl of Bellamont, the appointment being made in the belief that from his rank and the weight of his character, he would be able to retrieve the character of the Colonial Government. The King declared, in terms, "that he thought the Earl a man of resolution and integrity, and with these qualities more likely than any other he could think of to put a stop to the growth of piracy." Immediately after his lordship had arrived in New York, and assumed the direction of the Government, he laid before his Council letters from Secretary Vernon and the East India Company, relating to this matter, informing the board that he had an affidavit asserting that Fletcher had permitted the pirates to land their spoils in the province, and that Mr. Nicoll bargained for their protections, and received for his services 800 Spanish dollars. Nicoll confessed the receipt of the money for protections, but protested that it was in virtue of a certain act of the Assembly, for allowing privateers on their giving security—denying entirely the receipt of money from the pirates. However, on an argument before the Council, it was shown by the King's counsel that there was no such act in existence. The Council advised that Fletcher should be sent home for trial, and that Nicoll should be tried here. But in fact neither trial ever took place, owing, probably, to a want of evidence against the accused. On meeting the General Assembly, in his opening speech, Lord Bellamont adverted to the subject of piracy in these words:

"It hath been represented to the Government in England, that this province has been a noted receptacle of pirates, and the trade of it under no restriction, but the acts of trade violated by the neglect and connivance of those whose duty it was to have prevented it."

Though not brought to trial, as already stated, yet the circumstances were so strong against Nicoll that he was suspended from the Council-board, and obliged to enter into a recognizance in £2,000 to answer for his conduct in regard to the protections. He, however, survived the scandal, and was afterward a successful demagogue in Suffolk County, by the people of which he was elected to the Assembly, and by that body to the chair of the speakership.

But to return to Kidd. Justice to his memory requires it to be said, that he was not, at that period, so far as is known, a pirate himself. Before Lord Bellamont sailed from England for his Government, he met with Robert Livingston, of New York, the ancestor of the Livingstons of Livingston's Manor, with whom he held a conversation respecting the pirates, and the best means that could be adopted to put them down. The project of employing a swift sailing armed ship of thirty guns, and one hundred and fifty men, to cruise against them, was spoken of; and Livingston recommended his lordship to Kidd, as a man of integrity and courage, acquainted with the pirates and their places of rendezvous, and as one in all respects fit to be intrusted with the command of a vessel engaged in such a difficult service. He had indeed commanded a privateer in regular commission, against the pirates in the West Indies, in which service he had acquitted himself as a brave and adventurous man. The project not being entertained by the Board of Admiralty, a private adventure against the pirates was suggested by Mr. Livingston, one-fifth part of the stock of which he would take himself, besides becoming security for the good conduct of Kidd. The proposition was approved by the King, who became interested to the amount of one-tenth; and the residue of the expense was supplied by Lord Chancellor Somers, the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Earls of Romney and Oxford, and Sir Edmond Harrison and others. The ship having been procured and equipped, Kidd sailed for New York, under a regular commission, in April, 1696, the direction of the enterprise being committed to the Earl of Bellamont and himself. For a time he served faithfully, and with advantage to the commerce of the Colonies and mother country, for which services he received much public applause, and another grant from the Colony of 250 pounds. Tradition, moreover, says that, on visiting the Government House, he was received with public honors, and invited to a seat with the Speaker of the House of Assembly.

But on his next voyage he stretched away to the Indian Ocean, and turned pirate himself. Selecting the island of Madagascar as his principal place of rendezvous, and burning his own ship after having captured one that suited him better, his depredations upon the commerce of all nations were represented to have been great. He is said to have "ranged over the Indian coast from the Red Sea to Malabar, and that his depredations extended from the Eastern Ocean back along the Atlantic coast of South America, through the Bahamas, the whole of the West Indies, and the shores of Long Island." But it will presently be seen that this statement must have been an exaggeration, as time was not afforded for operations so extensive before his arrest.

It is beyond doubt true that Long Island Sound contained several of his hiding-places. "Kidd's Rock" is well known at Manhasset, upon Long Island, to this day. Here he was supposed to have buried some treasures, and many have been the attempts of the credulous to find the hidden gold. But it could not be found. There is also no doubt that he was wont to hide himself and his vessel among those curious rocks in Sachem's Head Harbor called the Thimble Islands. I have explored his haunts there, and the pirate's cavern. There is also upon one of those rocks, sheltered from the view of the Sound, a beautiful artificial excavation, of an oval form, holding perhaps the measure of a barrel, called "Kidd's Punch Bowl." It was here, according to the legends of the neighborhood, that he used to carouse with his crew. But it is a fact beyond controversy, that he was accustomed to anchor his vessel in Gardiner's Bay. On

one occasion, in the night, he landed upon Gardiner's Island, and requested Mrs. Gardiner to provide a supper for himself and his attendants. Knowing his desperate character, she dared not refuse, and fearing his displeasure, she took great pains, especially in roasting a pig. The pirate chief was so pleased with her culinary success that, on going away, he presented her with a cradle-blanket of gold-cloth. It was a velvet, inwrought with gold, and very rich. A small piece of it yet remains in the family, which I have seen. On one occasion when he landed at the island he buried a small casket of gold, silver, and precious stones in the presence of Mr. Gardiner, but under the most solemn injunctions of secrecy.

Repairing soon afterward to Boston, where Lord Bellamont happened to be at the time, he was summoned before his lordship, and directed to give a report of his proceedings in the service of his company. Refusing to comply with this demand, he was arrested on the 3d of July, 1699, on the charge of piracy. He appears to have disclosed the fact of having buried the treasure at Gardiner's Island, for the same was demanded by his lordship, and surrendered by Mr. Gardiner. I have seen the original receipt for the amount, with the different items of the deposit. The amount was by no means large, and affords evidence of no such mighty sweepings of the seas as have been told of in story and in song. Of gold in coins, gold-dust, and bars, there were 750 ounces. Of silver, 506 ounces; and of precious stones, about 16 ounces.

Lord Bellamont wrote home for a ship-of-war to carry Kidd to England for trial. The *Rochester* was dispatched upon that service; but being obliged to put back, a general suspicion prevailed in England that there was collusion between the pirates and the ministers, and in fact, that they dared not bring the sea-robber home for trial, lest it should be discovered that the Lord Chancellor and his noble associates in the enterprise were confederates in the piracies also. Party spirit ran high, and the opponents of the ministers brought a resolution into the House of Commons for excluding from place all the partners of Kidd in the original enterprise. And although this resolution was voted down, yet the Tories contrived afterward to impeach several of the Whig lords upon the charge of having been concerned with Kidd. But the articles were not sustained. Meantime Kidd had been taken to England, tried on an indictment for piracy and murder, and hung in chains, with six of his crew. In addition to the indictment for piracy, he was indicted for the murder of one of his own subordinate officers, named Moore, whom he killed in a quarrel, by striking him over the head with a bucket. He was convicted upon both charges, but protested to the last that he was the victim of conspiracy and perjury.

But after all, suspicions were entertained by the public that the execution was a sham—that the Government dared not to put him to death—and that, to avoid disclosures, a man of straw was hung in his place. In proof of this assertion, it was gravely and strongly alleged that Kidd had been seen alive and well, many years afterward, by those who could not be mistaken as to his identity. There is little doubt, however, of his having been honestly hung at "Execution Dock," in London, on the 12th of May, 1701. Yet, when compared with the nobler buccaneers, Solonoi, Morgan, and De Grammont, Kidd must have been a pirate upon an insignificant scale—a mere bottle-imp by the side of Satan, as portrayed in stupendous grandeur by Milton!

The following old ballads were favorite ones for several years after his death:

BALLAD I.

I'll sing you a song that you'll wonder to hear,
Of a freebooter lucky and bold.
Of old Captain Kidd—of the man without fear—
How himself to the devil he sold.

His ship was a trim one as ever did swim,
His comrades were hearty and brave—
Twelve pistols he carried, that freebooter grim,
And he fearlessly ploughed the wild wave.

He ploughed for rich harvests, for silver and gold,
He gathered them all in the deep ;
And he hollowed his granaries far in the mold,
Where they lay for the devil to keep.

Yet never was rover more open of hand
To the woodsmen so merry and free ;
For he scattered his coin 'mong the sons of the land
Whene'er he returned from the sea.

Yet pay-day at last, though unwished and unbid,
Come alike to the rude and the civil ;
And bold Captain Kidd, for the things that he did,
Was sent by Jack Ketch to the devil.

BALLAD II.

My name was Captain Kidd,
When I sailed, when I sailed ;
My name was Captain Kidd,
And so wickedly I did,
God's laws I did forbid,
When I sailed, when I sailed.

I roamed from sound to sound,
And many a ship I found,
And them I sunk or burned,
When I sailed, when I sailed.

Farewell to young and old,
All jolly seamen bold ;
You are welcome to my gold,
For I must die, I must die.

Farewell, for I must die ;
Then to eternity,
In hideous misery.
I must lie, I must lie.

APPENDIX VII.

THE JUDICIARY IN THE EARLY DUTCH PERIOD.

BY CHIEF-JUSTICE DALY.

PETER STUYVESANT came out as Governor in 1647. Van Dinchage, who had acted as schout fiscal under Van Twiller, came with him, in the capacity of vice-director, and Hendrick Van Dyck as schout fiscal. Immediately after his arrival, Stuyvesant established a court of justice, of which Van Dinchage was made the presiding judge, having associated with him occasionally others of the company's officers. The new tribunal was empowered to decide "all cases whatsoever," subject only to the restriction of asking the opinion of the Governor upon all momentous questions, who reserved to himself the privilege, which he frequently exercised, of presiding in the court, whenever he thought proper to do so.*

The desire for a popular form of government became so strong after Stuyvesant's arrival that he found it necessary to make some concession. He allowed the commonalty to elect eighteen persons, from whom he selected nine, as a permanent body to advise and assist in public affairs. This body, who were known as the board of the nine men, had certain judicial powers conferred on them. Three of their number attended in rotation upon every court day, to whom civil cases were referred as arbitrators, and their decision was binding upon the parties, though an appeal lay to the Governor and Council, upon the payment of one pound Flemish. These tribunals, with the manorial courts before referred to, constituted the judicial organization of the colony for several years afterwards.

The government of Stuyvesant but increased the popular discontent. Though a man of capacity and integrity, he was unfitted for the place assigned him, or his duty as the careful guardian of the pecuniary interests of a com-

* Breeden Raedt, extracts in 4 Doc. Hist. of N. Y., 69. Albany Rec., 20, 23, 29, 33, 56 to 61. 2 O'Call., 24 to 31. Brodhead, 467, 523, 532.

mercial corporation was inconsistent with the just and politic rule of a people like the colonists, who had their own views as to the manner in which a community should be governed. It was natural that they should desire to live under institutions to which they had been accustomed in Holland, and which, whatever might be their advantages or defects, had to them the merit of nationality, and were associated with their earliest recollections. This Stuyvesant did not, or would not, see. Strongly conservative himself by nature, and long used to military rule, he saw in a demand so just and reasonable nothing but a desire to break loose from the restraints of lawful authority. Though not an unjust man, he felt himself warranted in resorting to any means to crush everything in the shape of popular encroachment, and, as he was both prompt and energetic, his government became insufferably oppressive. Before the end of two years he was in open collision, not only with the board of nine men, but with the schout fiscal, Van Dyck, and the vice-director, Van Dinclage, an enlightened and learned man, and the most influential member of his Council. The Council he was enabled to control, but not so with the popular body. In one of its members, Adrian Van der Donck, he had to cope with a man whose ability and energy was equal to his own. Instigated by Van der Donck, the board of nine men resolved to send a delegation to Holland, but they had no sooner decided upon this step than Stuyvesant arrested its projector, seized his papers, and procured a decree of the Council removing him from his position as one of the popular representatives. But this violent and arbitrary measure did not produce the effect expected. The nine men met together, a spirited remonstrance was prepared to the States-general, and three of the number, of whom Van der Donck was one, went with it as a deputation to Holland.

This mission was so far successful, that in 1650 a provisional order was made by the States-general, which, among other things, decreed, that a Court of Justice should be erected in New Netherland, and that a burgher government should be established in New Amsterdam, to consist of two burgomasters, five schepens, and a schout, and that in the meantime, or for three years, the nine men should continue to exercise judicial powers in the trial of civil causes.* This order was resisted by the Amsterdam chamber as a violation of the privileges granted by their charter, and Stuyvesant, no doubt under instructions, refused to obey it.† When it was known at New Amsterdam that Stuyvesant would not comply with the order, the nine men again appealed to the home government, and Van der Donck, who had remained in Holland, appeared as their advocate before the States-general. A long struggle ensued, during which Stuyvesant grew more violent and unreasonable. He imprisoned Van Dinclage for uniting with Van der Donck in a protest to the States-general, dismissed the schout fiscal, Van Dyck, from office, for co-operating with the nine men, and followed up these arbitrary and illegal acts by equally violent measures against other leaders of the popular movement.‡ The Amsterdam chamber, who regarded the establishment of a burgher court as likely to prove detrimental to the interests of their commercial monopoly, employed every means to counteract the efforts of Van der Donck; but after

* Brodhead, 514.

† 2 O'Call., 210; Brodhead, 540; 2 Doc. History of N. Y.

‡ Brodhead, 525, 532.

maintaining the contest for two years, they at last thought it prudent to yield, and signified to Stuyvesant their assent to the wishes of the colonists. The inhabitants of New Amsterdam were to be allowed to elect a schout, two burgomasters, and five schepens, "as much as possible according to the custom of old Amsterdam," and the magistrates thus elected were to compose a municipal court of justice, subject to the right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the province.

"We have resolved," they wrote to Stuyvesant, "to permit you hereby to erect a Court of Justice (een banck Van Justitië) formed as much as possible after the custom of this city, to which end printed copies relative to all the law courts here, and their whole government, are transmitted. And we presume that it will be sufficient at first to choose one schout, two burgomasters, and five schepens, from all of whose judgment an appeal shall lie to the Supreme Council, where definite judgment shall be pronounced."* It was evident, from the order of the States-general, that these officers were to be elected by the commonalty, as was customary in the cities, towns and villages of Holland, and such would seem to be the direction in the dispatch of the Amsterdam Chamber. The language of the dispatch was, perhaps, a little ambiguous, and Stuyvesant, putting the construction upon it that conformed most with his own views, and which, if erroneous, he perhaps felt would not be unpalatable to his employers, resolved to appoint the new magistrates himself. He not only determined thus to keep the power in his own hands, but he practically defeated the provision that had been made for a city schout, by appointing to that office Cornelius Van Tienhoven, a man of depraved and dissolute life, exceedingly obnoxious to the colonists, whose only recommendation was the ability he had shown in carrying out the measures of his headstrong and arbitrary superior.

By this means, the two offices of city schout and schout fiscal were united in the same person. Stuyvesant even went so far as to refuse to allow the new magistrates to appoint their own clerk, though it had been the usage in Amsterdam from the time that that city had had a burgomaster, and, as a crowning act, he informed the new tribunal that its establishment, or the scope of its authority, did not in the slightest degree diminish the power of himself and his Council to pass whatever laws or ordinances they pleased for the municipal government of the city.†

On the second of February, 1653, he issued a proclamation appointing as burgomasters Arent Van Hatten and Martin Krieger, and as schepens Paulus L. Van der Grist, Maximilian Van Gheel, Allard Anthony, Peter W. Cowenhoven and William Beekman. Five days afterwards, the newly appointed magistrates assembled; Van Tienhoven, the schout fiscal, attending in his additional capacity of city schout, with Jacob Kip, who had been appointed secretary or town clerk, a station he continued to fill for many years afterwards. No business was transacted, other than to give notice that the Court would meet for "the hearing and determining of all disputes between parties, as far as practicable," in the building heretofore called the City Tavern, near the Stadt House (City Hall), on every Monday morning at nine o'clock.

*1 N. Y. Doc. History, 357.

†1 N. Y. Rec. of Burgomasters and Schepens, vol. i. Brodhead, 548.

The Stadt House not being ready on the day appointed, the next meeting took place four days afterwards at the Fort, where the Court was duly organized for the dispatch of business, and the proceedings opened with prayer; the following eloquent extract from which will show the sense entertained by these new magistrates of the duties and obligations of the judicial office:

"We beseech thee, oh! Fountain of all good gifts, qualify us by thy grace, that we may, with fidelity and righteousness, serve in our respective offices. To this end enlighten our darkened understandings, that we may be able to distinguish the right from the wrong, the truth from falsehood, and that we may give pure and uncorrupted decisions, having an eye upon thy Word, a sure guide, giving to the simple wisdom and knowledge. Let thy law be a lamp unto our feet and a light unto our paths, that we may never turn away from righteousness. Deeply impress on all our minds that we are accountable not to man, but to God, who seeth and heareth all things. Let all respect of persons be far removed from us, that we may award justice unto the rich and unto the poor, unto friends and enemies, to residents and to strangers, according to the law of truth, and grant that not one of us, in any instance, may swerve therefrom; and as gifts do blind the eyes of the wise and destroy the heart, keep, therefore, our hearts in judgment. Grant unto us, also, that we may not rashly prejudge any one, but that we patiently hear all parties, and give them time and opportunity for defending themselves, in all things looking up to Thee and to thy Word for counsel and direction."*

It was the intention that the municipal government conceded to New Amsterdam should conform, as far as practicable, to that of the parent city. How essentially Stuyvesant departed from this in the outset has been already shown, and his resolving that the burgher government did not diminish the right of himself and his Council to regulate municipal affairs, left the precise powers of the new tribunal very indefinite and uncertain. It led, at the commencement, to an organization of the municipal government in many respects different from that of Amsterdam, and to great unwillingness at first on the part of the burgomasters and schepens to interfere at all in municipal matters. In Amsterdam there were four burgomasters, each of whom attended three months of the year, in rotation, at the City Hall, for the dispatch of public business; and the schepens, who were nine in number, held the regular court of justice, having civil and criminal jurisdiction, which was almost unlimited. The duties of the schepens were especially judicial, while those of the schout and the burgomasters were chiefly executive, and the three bodies, when assembled together, constituted a "college," for the enactment of municipal ordinances and laws, under the title of "The Lords of the Court of the City of Amsterdam." There was also a permanent council, composed of thirty-six members, the nature of which need not be explained.† Though this division of duties and labors was highly essential in a city of the magnitude of the Dutch commercial metropolis, it was not so necessary in a small community like that of New Amsterdam, which, at the period in question, could not have embraced

* 1 N. Y. Rec. of Burg. and Schep., i. 3.

† J. Wagenaar-Amsterdamsche Geschiedenissen, 1740. Meyer's Institutions Judiciaires, tome iii., livre 5, chap. ii. 233. Ordinances of Amsterdam, vol. ii., p. 695. Vander Linden, 379. 2 O'Call. 210.

much over seven hundred inhabitants.* From this cause, perhaps, as well as from the uncertainty respecting the precise distribution or extent of their duties, occasioned by the notice they had received from Stuyvesant, the newly appointed officers assembled together as one body, and in that united capacity continued thereafter to discharge legislative, judicial, and executive functions. In the towns and villages of Holland the schout was the first officer of the board. He convoked the court, and presided at the head of it, but without taking any part in its proceedings other than in collecting the votes. His position was somewhat analogous to that of the speaker or the president of a legislative assembly, except that he had no vote, though he might express his opinion, and he was obliged to quit the bench when he acted as prosecuting officer, the oldest burgomaster then presiding in his stead.† In New Amsterdam, however, Arent Van Hatten, being the first named as burgomaster, assumed the presidency of the court,‡ and after he retired from office the eldest burgomaster continued to act in that capacity until 1656, when Stuyvesant ordered that the presidency should be changed every three months, which continued until 1660, in which year the colonists obtained what they had long petitioned for, a separation of the office of city schout from that of the schout fiscal. This separation had in fact been made six years before, and a city schout appointed by the Amsterdam chamber, but this officer, Jochem T. Kuyter, having been killed in a collision with the Indians before he could enter on the duties of his office, Stuyvesant retained the schout fiscal, Van Tienhoven, in the discharge of the duties of city schout, and persisted, against the earnest remonstrance of the inhabitants, in continuing him and the succeeding schout fiscal, Nicasius de Sille, as city schout, until the Amsterdam chamber finally appointed to the post Peter Tonneman, who had formerly been schout of a district of Dutch towns on Long Island. Tonneman received his appointment in Holland, and when he came out he insisted upon his right to the presidency of the court. In this he was supported by Stuyvesant, who went personally before the burgomasters and schepens, and insisted not only that Tonneman should sit at the head of the court, but that he should have a vote in all matters in which he was not a party, a privilege never granted to the schouts in Holland. The burgomasters and schepens resisted, but after a long and angry discussion, it was finally agreed that Tonneman should have what he claimed until the question should be determined by the "Lords Majores" in Holland. It does not appear whether any further action was had in the matter, but the name of Tonneman was continued thereafter upon the records as the chief or presiding officer.§ In 1657 that branch of municipal affairs which especially required the discharge of executive duties had increased so largely, that the burgomasters organized a separate court, which met every Thursday, to dispose of it.¶ In view of the serious encroachment made upon their time by the accumulation of duties, or, as they

* Valentine's History of the City of New York, p. 53. Brodhead, 548.

† Van Leuwen, book i., chap. i., sec. 21. Meyer's Institutions Judiciaires, tome iii., livre 5., chap. xi., 253. Vander Lin den, 377. Brodhead, 674.

‡ N. Y. Rec. of Burg. and Schep., i. 4; ii., 488.

§ N. Y. Rec. of Burg. and Schep., v. 414, 481.

¶ N. Y. Rec. of Burg. and Schep. Ordinances of Burgomasters.

expressed it, the impossibility of attending to their private affairs, the burgo-masters petitioned Stuyvesant to be released thereafter from attending the burgher court, but he refused to grant it, and the court continued in the discharge of mixed legislative and judicial functions as long as the Dutch held possession of the province.

The proceedings of this tribunal, or as it was denominated, "The Worshipful Court of the Schout Burgomaster and Schepens," were all recorded by their clerk or secretary; and as everything that took place before it—the nature of the claim, or of the offense, the statements of the parties, the proof and the decision of the Court, with the reasons assigned for it—were carefully noted and written down, these records supply a full account of the whole course of its proceedings, and furnish an interesting exposition of the manners and habits of the people. Upon perusing them, it is impossible not to be struck with the comprehensive knowledge they display of the principles of jurisprudence, and with the directness and simplicity with which legal investigations were conducted. In fact, as a means of ascertaining truth, and of doing substantial justice, their mode of proceeding was infinitely superior to the more technical and artificial system introduced by their English successors. None of these magistrates were of the legal profession. They were all engaged in agricultural, trading, or other pursuits, and yet they appear to have been well versed in the Dutch law, and to have been thoroughly acquainted with the commercial usages, customs, and municipal regulations of the city of Amsterdam. This is the more remarkable, as a knowledge of the Dutch law at that period was by no means of easy acquisition. Though the principles and practice of the civil law prevailed in Holland, it was greatly modified by ancient usages; some of them of feudal origin, others the result of free institutions, which had existed from the earliest period; and it had engrafted upon it a number of public regulations or ordinances, emanating from the different provinces, as distinct and partly independent sovereignties, which had originated either as feudal privileges or sprung up during Spanish domination, or were the result of the long struggle and many political changes which the Low Countries had passed through before the general establishment of free institutions. In every town and village in Holland, moreover, there existed usages and customs peculiar to the place, which had the force of law, and were not only different in different towns, but frequently directly opposite. The Dutch law, in fact, was then a kind of irregular Mosaic, in which might be found all the principles as well as the details of a most enlightened system of jurisprudence, but in a form so confused as to make it exceedingly difficult to master it.* That these magistrates should have had any general or practical acquaintance with such a system at all was scarcely to have been expected; but that they had is apparent not only from the manner in which they disposed of the ordinary controversies that came before them, but in their treatment of difficult questions as to the rights of strangers, their

* H. Fagel and J. C. Van der Hoop. *Dissert. de usu juris Romani in Hollandia Hag.*, 1779. F. Van Mieris *Groot Charterboek der Graaven Van Holland, Leid.*, 1753-4. Deelen Ceu en Seheltus, *Placaat Boek Van de Staaten Generaal Van Holland, en Van Zeeland*; J. Deelen, *édition of 1658. Actes des Etats Généraux de 1600. Recueilles et mis en ordre, par M. Gachard, Bruxelles, 1819. Oeuvres de Raepsnit, tome iii. Des Droit des Belgis et Gaulois Meyer's Institutions Judiciaires, tome iii., livre 5, chap. xi.*

familiarity with the complicated laws of inheritance, and the knowledge they displayed of the maritime law while sitting as a Court of Admiralty. The Amsterdam chamber sent out to them the necessary books to guide them as to the practices of the courts of Amsterdam, and when the province passed into the hands of the English, there was attached to the court a small but very select library of legal works, mainly in the Dutch language. There were, moreover, men educated to the legal profession, in the colony. Van Dinclage, the vice-director, who had acted as *schout fiscal* for Van Twiller, and chief judge of the court established by Stuyvesant, was a doctor of laws; and there is sufficient known respecting him to warrant the opinion that he was an able and accomplished jurist. Van der Donck was admitted to the same honorable degree in the University of Leyden, and was afterward an advocate of the Supreme Court of Holland.* The *schout fiscal*, Nicacius de Sille, who acted as city *schout* for four years, is stated in his commission from the Amsterdam chamber to be "a man well versed in the law."[†]

In addition to these, there were several notaries. Dirk Van Schellyne, who came out in 1641, had previously practised at the Hague; David Provoost discharged the duties of notary for some years before Schellyne's arrival;‡ and there was another notary named Matthias de Vos.§ Under the civil law as it prevailed in Holland, a considerable part of the proceedings in a cause, if it was seriously contested, was conducted by the notary, who was required, at least, to be well versed in the manner of carrying on legal controversies; and as he was frequently consulted by suitors for advice as to their rights and liabilities, he was generally well-informed and capable of giving it.¶ Such was the case with Van Schellyne, who, from the records he has left, was evidently an experienced and skillful practitioner. He was not only connected with the court in the discharge of his duties as notary, but he was appointed by it, in 1665, high constable (*conchergio*).* All of these men must have had more or less to do with establishing the mode of legal proceeding, and of advising and guiding the magistrates. Van Schellyne and De Sille were in constant communication with them, Van Dinclage must have brought into use the forms of legal procedure in the court over which he had presided, and Van der Donck was one of the chief getters-up of the new tribunal; and though he survived its creation but two years, he was no doubt advised with and consulted in respect to its organization, and as to the mode in which it was conducted. We find him, in fact, the very year that it was established, claiming its protection as a "citizen and burgher" against the menaces of Stuyvesant.** The court was required, in all its determinations, to regard as paramount law all regulations established by or instructions received from the Chamber of Amsterdam or the College of Nineteen, for the government of the colony. Next, all edicts or ordinances duly established by the Governor and Council; then the usages,

* 2 O'Call., 550.

† Brodhead, 561. 5 N. Y. Rec. of Burg. and Schep., 5.

‡ 3 N. Y. Rec. of Burg. and Schep., 101.

§ 5 N. Y. Rec. of Burg. and Schep., 642.

¶ S. Van Leuwen, *Practyk der Notariissen*. Rott., 1742.

* N. Y. Rec. of Burg. and Schep., ii. 642.

** N. Y. Rec. of Burg. and Schep., i. 321.

customs, or laws prevailing in the city of Amsterdam, and where they furnished no guide, the law of the fatherland, by which was more particularly understood the ordinances of the province of Holland, and of the States-general, and the civil law as it prevailed in the Netherlands, or, as it is denominated by jurists, the Roman Dutch law.

The burgomaster and schepens had constantly demanded from Stuyvesant that they should be allowed to nominate a double number of persons, from whom their successors should be chosen, as a partial approximation to the privileges enjoyed in the Netherlands, or, as they expressed it, "in the beloved city of Amsterdam,"* but he continued the old magistrates, merely supplying vacancies, until 1656, when he consented, with the proviso that the old magistrates should always be considered as renominated, which left it in his power to continue them precisely as he had done before. The condition was accepted, and the nominations made; but Stuyvesant, being displeased with some of the new names, continued the old magistrates, merely supplying vacancies until the time for reappointment came around, in 1658, when he at last gave way, and selected, from a double list of names presented to him, the magistrates who were to serve. The burgomaster and schepens then selected continued in office until 1660, when a new nomination and appointment was made every year in the month of February,† which was continued thereafter, until the English changed the organization of the court. All these magistrates, as far as can be gathered, were men of intelligence, of independence, and, with one or two exceptions, of high moral character, evincing in the discharge of their duties, and especially in those of a judicial nature, that unswerving adhesion to establish rules and customs, that sterling good sense, and strong love of justice, which constitute so marked a feature in the Dutch national character.

The right which Stuyvesant claimed, of interfering in the administration of city matters, appears to have been confined to the general regulation of the city's affairs, and not to the administration of justice between particular individuals or as against public offenders. Upon the former matter, he and the burgomaster and the schepens came frequently in collision; and he sometimes gave vent to his anger at their insolence and presumption, by a public proclamation, in which they were contemptuously referred to as "the little bench of justice,"‡ but he seems to have abstained from any interference with their judicial powers. At first he was disposed to limit their action in criminal cases, but finally he suffered them to exercise unlimited criminal and civil jurisdiction, except the infliction of punishment in capital cases. The mode of proceeding in civil cases was simple and summary. The court was held once every fortnight, though frequently once every week, upon a stated day. Attached to the court was an officer known as the court messenger, who, at the verbal request of the party aggrieved, summoned the adverse party to appear at the next court-day. If the defendant failed to appear, he incurred the cost of the summons, lost the right to make any objection to the jurisdiction of the court, and a new citation was issued. If he failed again, he incurred

* New Amsterdam Rec., 359, 373, 375.

† Rec. of N. Y. Burgomasters and Schepens, iv., 299.

‡ Documents of Stuyvesant's Council in N. Y. Record of Burgomasters and Schepens, 26th of February, 1654.

additional costs, lost the right to make all "dilatory exceptions," or to adjourn or delay the proceeding. He was then cited for the third time, and if he did not then appear, the court proceeded to hear the case and give judgment, and he was cut off from all right of appeal or review. But if, upon hearing the plaintiff's case, the court deemed the presence of the defendant essential, they might issue a fourth citation, in the nature of an arrest, and compel his appearance. Parties, however, usually attended upon the first citation. The plaintiff stated his case, and the defendant made his answer. If they differed in a fact which the court thought material, either party might be put to an oath, and, if they were still in conflict, the court might require the examination of witnesses, and the matter was adjourned until the next court-day, during which time either party might take the depositions of his witnesses before a notary, or the court might require that the witnesses should be produced, to be examined orally before it, at the adjourned day, under oath. But, most generally, the matter was disposed of upon the first hearing of the parties, without resorting to the oath or the examination of witnesses. If it was intricate, or it was difficult to get at the truth, it was the constant practice to refer the cause to arbitrators, who were always instructed to bring about a reconciliation between the parties if they could; and this was not confined merely to cases of disputes about accounts, or to differences growing out of contracts, but it extended to nearly every kind of case that came before the court. The arbitrators were left to the choice of the litigants, or appointed by the court, or one of the schepens was directed to take the matter in hand and try and reconcile the contestants. If no reconciliation could be effected, or the parties would not submit to the final determination or conclusion of the arbitrators, the dissatisfied party might again bring the matter before the court, where it was finally disposed of. These references were frequent upon every court-day. In fact, the chief business of this tribunal was, in acting as a court of reconciliation; and, it is worthy of remark, that, though the amount involved was frequently considerable or the matter in dispute highly important, appeals to the court from the decision of the arbitrators were exceedingly rare.

Indeed, the first appeal to be found upon the records was brought by a stranger.* There was a more formal mode of proceeding, if parties preferred it. After the plaintiff had stated his case, the defendant might require him to put it in writing, and a day was given for that purpose. The defendant was then obliged to answer in writing, to which the plaintiff could reply, and the defendant rejoin, and there ended the pleadings. Each party then went before the notary of his choice, and had the depositions of his witnesses reduced to writing, a draft or copy of which was retained by the notary, in a book kept by him for the purpose; and where it was necessary, a commission, or, as it was called, a requisitory letter, might be obtained for the examination upon interrogation of witnesses residing beyond the court's jurisdiction, who were examined before the judges of the local court where the witness resided, who sealed up the examination, and transmitted it to the court having jurisdiction of the cause. When the proofs were complete, they were added to the plead-

* N. Y. Rec. of Burgomasters and Schepens, I., 189, 231 II., 10, 176; III., 188; V., 190; VI., 174; VII., 180.

ings, the whole constituting what was called the memorial, which was submitted to the court, either party being at liberty to inspect it, and having the right, within a certain time, to have any of the witnesses of his adversary examined upon cross-interrogatories, in respect to anything contained in their deposition, which was material, or to have additional witnesses examined on his own behalf in reply; the manner of conducting which subsequent examination was arranged by the judge. But this mode of proceeding being dilatory and expensive was rarely resorted to. The majority of cases were referred to arbitration, or disposed of upon a summary hearing of the parties before the magistrates; and it may be important to note, in respect to the rules of evidence, that whenever a paper or document was produced, purporting or avowed to be in the handwriting of a party, it was assumed to be his handwriting, unless he denied the fact under oath; and that merchants or traders might always exhibit their books in evidence, where it was acknowledged or proved that there had been a dealing between the parties, or that the article had been delivered, provided they were regularly kept with the proper distinction of persons, things, year, month, and day—a practice which, in the States of New Jersey and New York, survived these Dutch tribunals, and has at the present day, with certain qualifications or restrictions, extended to nearly every State in the Union. Full credit was given to all such books, especially where they were strengthened by oath, or confirmed by the death of the parties, and also to memorandums made between parties by sworn brokers. A leading distinction in evidence was also made between what was termed full proof, as where a fact was declared by two credible witnesses, as of their own knowledge, or it was proved by a document or written paper, and half proof, as where it rested upon the positive declaration of knowledge by one witness only, under which latter head, as weak but assisting evidence, hearsay was allowed, which, in some instances, as in the case of certain dying declarations, was admitted to the force of full proof; and as the determining of a case upon the evidence of witnesses was left to the judges, very discriminating and nice distinctions were made in adjusting or weighing its relative force or value.*

When judgment was rendered against a defendant for a sum of money, time was given for payment, usually fourteen days, for the discharge of one half, and the remainder in a month. If, at the expiration of that time, he did not comply, application was made to the court, and the schout, or usually the court messenger, went to the delinquent, and exhibiting a copy of the sentence and his wand of office, which was a bunch of thorns, summoned him to make satisfaction in twenty-four hours. If at the expiration of that time the amount was not paid, the delinquent was again summoned to pay within twenty-four hours, which involved additional expense; and if, when that time expired, he was still in default, the messenger, in the presence of a schepen, took into custody the debtor's movable goods, which he detained for six days, within which time they might be redeemed on payment of the expenses. If they were not redeemed, notice was then given by publicly announcing upon a Sunday, and upon a law day, that they would be sold, and at the next law or market day they were disposed of by auction. If it was necessary to levy

* Rec. of N. Y. Burg. and Schep., vii., viii. Meyer's Institutions Judiciaires, chap. 14, 387. Van Leuwen, book v., chap. xiii. to xx. and xxiii.

upon or sell real estate, or what in the civil law is termed immovable property, a longer term was allowed, and greater formalities were required. The manner of selling it was peculiar. The officer lighted a candle, and the bidding went on while it was burning, and he who had offered the most at the extinction of the candle was declared the purchaser, which differed from the ordinary mode in a Dutch auction, where a public offer of the property is made at a price beyond its real value, which is gradually lowered or diminished until one of the company agrees to take it.* The civil business of the court was large and varied, such as actions for the recovery of debts, which were generally cases of disputed accounts, or of misunderstanding between the parties, for in truth the probity and punctuality of the Dutch suits by creditors to enforce payments from delinquent debtors formed but a small proportion in the general mass of this business. There were proceedings by attachments against the property of absconding debtors or of non-residents or foreigners, on which security was required of the debtor intending to depart, to release the property from the attachment; actions to recover the possession of land, or to settle boundaries, a proceeding somewhat similar to the relief afforded by our courts of equity upon a confusion of boundaries; actions to recover damages for injuries to land or to personal property, or to recover specific personal property as in replevin, or its value as in trover.

Actions for freight, for seamen's wages, for rent, for breach of promise of marriage, where the performance of the contract was enforced by imprisonment; for separation between man and wife, in which case the children were equally allotted to the parties, and the property divided,† after the payment of debts; proceedings in bastardy cases, in which the male was required to give security for the support of the child, and in which both delinquents might be punished by fine or imprisonment. Actions for assault and battery, and for defamation, which were quasi-criminal proceedings, punishable by fine and imprisonment, or both, though the defamer was generally discharged upon making a solemn public recantation before the court, sometimes upon his knees, asking pardon of God and of the injured party. Pecuniary compensation for injuries to person or character could not be enforced; though cases occurred in which the defendant was discharged, it appearing that he had made compensation to the other party in money or goods. And, from the frequent application made to the court for redress in cases of defamation, detraction would seem to have been a vice to which the inhabitants were particularly prone.

The court also acted as a court of admiralty, and as a court of probate, in taking proof of last wills and testaments, and in appointing curators to take charge of the estates of widows and orphans. Application was made to Stuyvesant for liberty to establish an orphan-house, similar to the celebrated institutions which exist throughout Holland. He did not think that such an establishment was necessary, but he afterward assented to the appointment of orphan-masters, and those officers acted in aid of the court. Some of its proceedings in the exercise of this branch of its jurisdiction will serve to illustrate how tenaciously the Dutch clung to old forms or legal ceremonies, as, where a

* Rec. of N. Y. Burg. and Schep., i. of 201, 250; v 207, 576. Van Leuwen, book 5, chap. 25.

† Rec. of N. Y. Burg. and Schep., iv., 1659. Rec. of Mayor's Court, i., 533.

widow, to relieve herself from certain obligations, desired to renounce her husband's estate, it is, in all such cases, recorded, that the intestate's estate "has been kicked away by his wife with the foot," and that she has duly "laid the key on the coffin."* The court also exercised a peculiar jurisdiction, that of summoning parents or guardians before them, who, without sufficient cause, withheld assent to the marriage of their children or wards, and of compelling them to give it.† It also granted passports to strangers, or conferred on them the burgher right, a distinction which, now that it has ceased to be attended with any practical advantage, is still kept up in the custom of tendering or presenting the freedom of the city to strangers, as a mark of respect. It may not be uninteresting, moreover, to state, that the origin of a fee bill, for regulating, by a fixed and positive provision of law, the costs of attorneys and other public officers, is to be traced to Stuyvesant. On the 25th of January, 1658, he put forth what is known in Holland as a placard, that is, a proclamation or ordinance emanating from some legislative or executive authority, having the force of law, by which he established a regular tariff of fees. In England, the fees of attorneys and other officers of the court has always been regulated by the court, and not by any public act. In New York, however, the fees of public officers have been a matter of statute regulation from a very early period. Ten or twelve years after the restoration of the province to the English, they were regulated by an ordinance of the Governor, and afterward by acts of the General Assembly; and there is every reason to believe that the practice, especially as respects the fees of attorneys and officers of the court, was derived from the Dutch.‡

A copy of Stuyvesant's ordinance remains in the records of the burgomaster and schepens, and as the preamble to the document is of interest as a legal curiosity, we shall take the liberty to insert it: "Whereas the Director-general and Council of New Netherland have sufficient evidence, from their own experience, in certain bills of costs which have been exhibited to them, as well as by the remonstrances and complaints which have been presented to them by others, of the exactions of scriveners, notaries, clerks, and other licensed persons, in demanding and collecting from contending persons excessively large fees and money, for writing for almost all sorts of instruments, to the manifest, yea, insufferable expense of judgments and judicial costs, some of whom are led by their covetousness and avarice so far as to be ashamed to make a bill or specify the fees they demand, but ask or extort a sum in gross. Therefore, to provide for the better and more easy administration of justice, the Director-general and Council do enact," etc.; after which follow provisions requiring the licensing of the officer entitled to take the fees, the keeping of a record of all fees charged by them, and prohibiting champerty and other abuses. It is then provided, that the officers enumerated shall serve the poor gratis, for God's sake, but may take from the wealthy the fees specified. Each particular service is then enumerated in the manner of our former fee bills, with the number of stivers allowed for each. Among the provisions is the

* Rec. of N. Y. Burg. and Schep., ii., 323.

† Rec. of N. Y. Burg. and Schep., vols. i., ii., iii., iv., v., vi.

‡ Ordinance and Table of Fees in first edition of the Colonial Laws, by Bradford, 1694; Charter Book and Acts of Assembly of 1683, in office of Secretary of State; Laws of 1709, ordinance regulating fees.

following entry: "No drinking, treats, presents, gifts, or doucers shall be inserted in any bill, or demanded;" and the ordinance concludes by directing that it shall be read once every year in the court, upon a day specified, to the officers enumerated, who were thereupon to be sworn faithfully to observe it; any officer-being subject, for a violation of its provisions, to a fine of fifty guilders, or the loss of his office.*

In criminal cases, the schout prosecuted as plaintiff on behalf of the community. At his requisition, and upon the inspection by a magistrate of evidence sufficient to warrant a belief that an offense had been committed, the offender might be arrested or summoned according to the discretion of the magistrate; though where the culprit was detected in the actual perpetration of the deed, or where, in the judgment of the schout, there was strong ground of suspicion against him, and, in his opinion, the public interest demanded it, he might direct his immediate arrest; but in all such cases the schout was obliged to give notice of the arrest to the magistrate within twenty-four hours, who was thereupon bound to investigate the matter—a provision that practically dispensed with the necessity of the writ of habeas corpus, so familiar in the history of the English law.† Bail was allowed, except in cases of murder, rape, arson, or treason. There were two modes of trying the prisoner; either publicly upon general evidence, which was the ordinary mode, or by examining him secretly in the presence of two schepens, in which written interrogatories were propounded to the prisoner, to which he was obliged to return categorical answers. The Dutch law then adhering to the general policy of the civil law in respect to extorting confessions from offenders, and making use of the torture and of all those inquisitorial aids and appliances which have cast such a blemish upon the criminal jurisprudence of Europe.‡

The torture, however, was not used, except where the presumptive proof amounted almost to a certainty; and but one case has been found upon the records in which this cruel and unnecessary test was resorted to. Criminal prosecutions were not frequent, nor were the offenses generally of a grave character. The punishments were by fine, which were distributed in three equal parts, to the schout, to the court, and to the poor; by imprisonment, whipping, the pillory, banishment from the city or the province, or death, which, however, could not be inflicted without the concurrence of the Governor and his Council.§

Courts of the same popular character were established upon Long Island,|| shortly after the erection of the one at New Amsterdam.

A court with two schepens existed at Breuklin (Brooklyn) before 1654, which in that year was increased to four schepens. There was one at Midwout (Flatbush), with three schepens, and another at Amersfoort (Flatlands). David Provoost, who had been a notary at New Amsterdam, was made schout of Breuklin, and a district court was established, composed of the schout of

* Placards of Stuyvesant in Rec. of N. Y. Burg. and Schep.

† Ordinances of Amsterdam, p. 46, and seq. Ed. of 1644.

‡ La Practique et Escheridon des Causes Criminells, Louvain, 1555. Van Leuwen, book 3, chaps. 27, 28.

§ Rec. of N. Y. Burg. and Schep., iv., 141.

|| Thompson's History of Long Island, 96. 2 O'Call. 313, 323.

Breuklin, and of delegates from these three tribunals, which was continued until 1661.

In that year similar courts were established at Boswyck (Bushwick), and at New Utrecht, and the whole were formed into a district known as "the five Dutch towns," to which there was attached one schout, residing at Breuklin, each town having its separate courts.* Courts were also established by virtue of a grant from Stuyvesant among the English settlers at Carorasset (Jamaica), in 1656,† and at Middleburgh (Newtown), in 1659.‡ In 1652 Stuyvesant, by the simple exercise of his prerogative, established a court at Beverwyck (Albany), independent of the Patroon's Court of Raenssellervyck.§ It was held at the house of the vice-director, upon the second floor, in a room directly under the roof, without a chimney, and to which access was had, by a straight ladder, through a trap-door. The courts thus enumerated, including the patroon courts already referred to and the Supreme or Appellate Court at New Amsterdam, composed of the Governor and Council, constituted the judicial tribunals of New Netherland, until the colony passed into the hands of the English.

* Brodhead, 580.

† Thompson's History of Long Island, 96.

‡ Riker's Annals of Newtown.

§ Albany Rec., 183. Records of Mortgages, Albany, book A. 2 O'Call., 183.

APPENDIX VIII.

THE FIREMAN'S LYCEUM.

LETTER FROM COLONEL T. BAILEY MYERS.

FIREMAN'S LYCEUM, 127 MERCER STREET, }
NEW YORK CITY, *December 1st, 1871.* }

DEAR SIR—In compliance with your request that I should send you a brief historical sketch of the origin and scope of the Fireman's Lyceum, I give you a few facts, which I trust will cover the ground. The change from the Volunteer to the Paid Department involved new duties imposed upon a few men selected to take the place of many, whose whole time belonged to the public, and was spent at the apparatus-houses waiting for duty. Idleness in quarters, in military life, is an evil which has been apparent in every service, and under the new system of a paid department, the life of the fireman nearly assimilated to that of a soldier in garrison. How to occupy the time of the men while waiting for the alarm-signal which might at any moment summon the company to duty, became at an early day a subject for consideration with the Board of Commissioners. The connection of some industrial pursuit with the duty, as is the case in other countries, which, while lessening the expenses of the department, would employ the time of the men, was considered as a means of affording the needed occupation; but for reasons on which it is not necessary to enlarge, that course was deemed at present impracticable, especially in the face of a constant agitation by local politicians (seeking votes amongst the force), of an increase of the pay of the firemen from \$1,000 to \$1,200 per annum, a proposition always popular with the men, and not objectionable to legislatures, more intent on gratifying their colleagues (when it could be done at the expense of the tax-payers of the city alone, whom they apparently represent), than on an economical administration of public affairs; and therefore difficult to be opposed by commissioners themselves holding office by a feeble tenure, and subject at any time to be legislated out of their control.

Under the new system the Department was placed upon a semi-military

basis, the strictest discipline preserved in service or in quarters, and requisitions, reports, and other written forms introduced, involving a large amount of labor and requiring clerical skill in the officers not heretofore generally necessary. For many of these strict military details, unpopular and subjects for ridicule at the time, as being in direct opposition to the personal independence and licensed freedom of the volunteer system, and necessarily incident to unpaid service, but which have tended greatly to the present efficiency and compactness of the force, the public are indebted to the perseverance and talent for organization possessed by General Shaler, with whom they originated, and who urged the necessity of their adoption. They are now sanctioned by usage, and are not likely to be abandoned. Their effect has been to reduce the material of the Department to the efficiency and prompt, quiet, concerted action of regular batteries of artillery, with the substitution of the apparatus for field-pieces. These changes necessarily called the attention of the Board to the means of elevating the educational standard of the men.

After much consideration the Board, on the 27th of December, 1867, passed a resolution authorizing me, as a member of the Board, to take possession of the large hall above the head-quarter offices of the Department, and to organize a lyceum and library for the use of the men, provided the same should be done without expense to the public. In compliance with this resolution I proceeded at once to interest the insurance companies and a few personal friends in the enterprise, and soon secured the moderate sum of money necessary to accomplish it. To do this it was necessary to husband our resources, and make our purchases at book sales only, which were attended for that purpose very faithfully by Mr. C. E. Gildersleve, at that time secretary of the Board. Subsequently, as the collection increased, a formal trust was created, by which I hold the property so acquired for the use of the firemen of the city of New York. The collection of books has gradually increased, until, at the present time, it includes 4,873 volumes belonging to the library, and 1,500 deposited for reference by the trustee. The cases in which these books are contained are of walnut, with sliding wire-doors and improved fastenings, and are the work of the men of the Department, and compare very favorably with those in any public library—the materials for these cases is the only expense to which the Department has been in any way subjected. The furniture, some of which is antique, and all suitable to the use, together with a collection of curiously engraved portraits of distinguished Americans, appropriate views, historical documents, autographs, maps, Revolutionary currency, &c., &c., have been deposited in the library for its use from the private collection of the trustee. To this has been added an engine in use by the Department early in the century, and various flags, lanterns, certificates, obsolete implements and apparatus, together forming a not uninteresting collection, and intended to remind the men not only of the past achievements of the Department, but also of the great men, and remarkable events connected with the general history of the country, and which is constantly increasing by the contributions of old firemen and others. The library is divided into chapters of geography and travel, history, biography, natural science, and carefully selected fiction, and includes such works as are most likely to entertain and improve the leisure hours of the men. Mr. Burns, the librarian, attends at all hours of the day, and the officers and men are enabled to draw such books as they may select from the printed catalogues for use

at their quarters, which is generally done through one member representing his company. The books have been largely and steadily used, about two hundred volumes being drawn in each month, and they afford great satisfaction to the members. It is scarcely necessary to say that there are some of the older members who cannot avail themselves of the use of books from the want of education, but in the case of all the appointments made for the last four years, to be able to read has been an indispensable requisite in a department where every member is eligible as a candidate for competitive examination for officers, in which position these qualifications are absolutely necessary. The Lyceum room, which is also used for the weekly trial terms held by the Board, is constantly resorted to by strangers and visitors, as a pioneer effort in the way of a Department Library. The Lyceum was formally dedicated on the 27th of December last, in the presence of a large audience, on which occasion Chief-Justice Daly delivered an able address, and the Bennett Gold Medal—for the endowment of which Mr. James Gordon Bennett had intrusted me with one thousand dollars, and which is held in trust for that purpose by Messrs. James M. McLean, Robert S. Hone (whom I associated with me), and myself, as trustees—was conferred on two meritorious officers of the Department for gallant efforts in the cause of humanity in saving life.

In giving you, as requested, the particulars of this little collection, I trust I have not made more than the necessary allusion to the part I have had in its formation, for which I have been amply rewarded by the success it has attained, and the evidences of the good it has already accomplished; and I sincerely trust that in whatever vicissitudes the Department may in the future be placed, and by whomsoever controlled, the Lyceum will continue to be the subject of their care, and the same facilities afforded to its trustee to make it an object of instruction and amusement to the gallant and useful body of men for whose benefit it was founded.

Very truly, your obedient servant,

T. BAILEY MYERS.

WM. L. STONE, Esq., New York City.

APPENDIX IX.

HALL OF RECORDS,

FORMERLY THE DEBTORS' PRISON.

[*From the Evening Post, of December 14th, 1871.*]

THE community was startled a few days ago by the announcement that the Grand Jury had found an indictment against the Hall of Records, on account of its manifest unfitness as a repository of the public papers. It was generally supposed that the recent repairs, for which, of course, the city paid, had put the building in good condition, and a knowledge that records of such value as those relating to the property of this city were in danger caused much uneasiness. We propose to give, therefore, a brief history of the building in question, with a statement of its contents and the amount of money recently expended on it.

The house was erected as a jail long before the Revolutionary war. It was known for many years as the "New Jail," prisoners having formerly been confined in a building at the corner of Dock Street and Coenties Slip, and also in the basement and attic of the City Hall, in Wall Street. The structure was originally almost square, considerably smaller than at present, and three stories in height. Its walls were of rough stone, and it was surmounted by a large cupola rising from the center of the roof. In January, 1764, the "New Jail" was the scene of a riot. Near it, on the northern side of the Park, or "The Fields," as it was then called, ran a long row of wooden barracks, where the British troops were quartered. One Sunday evening a large party of the soldiers, armed with muskets and axes, made an attack on the jail for the purpose of rescuing a certain Major Rogers, who was there imprisoned for debt. After maltreating the jailer for refusing to give up the keys, they forced the locks of all the doors in the building, and would have released all the prisoners had not most of the latter preferred to remain where they were. The disturbance, which occasioned great excitement and alarm in the city, was terminated by the intervention of the militia. During the Revolution, after the occupation of the city by the British, the building became known as the

"Provost," from the fact that it was under the charge of the notorious William Cunningham, the British provost-marshal. Cunningham's quarters were on the right of the entrance, and the guard-room on the left. Two sentinels were stationed at the entrance night and day, and numerous others were posted through the building, which was then used chiefly for the confinement of captive patriots. The main room on the second floor was called "Congress Hall," and was appropriated to prisoners of the higher class, who were here so densely packed together that, it is said, when they lay on the floor at night the men could not change their posture unless the same movement was made by all simultaneously. In addition to this hardship, they were half-starved and otherwise shamefully abused; being given impure water when abundance of good was at hand, neglected in sickness and denied all intercourse with their relatives and friends. Two pounds of hard biscuit and two pounds of raw salt pork a week were the allowance of food for each man, without fuel for cooking. Among the prisoners thus treated here were Ethan Allen, Judge Fell, of New Jersey, and other prominent persons.

After the Revolution the building was used as a prison for debtors, common felons being confined in the old Bridewell, also in City Hall Square, which was erected in 1775 and torn down in 1838. On the first floor three wards for prisoners were ranged on each side of a long corridor passing through the center, and the second story was similarly arranged, with the exception that the greater part of one side was fitted up as a chapel, where prayers were said every Thursday. A watchman was kept in the belfry to look out for fires, and in consequence the jail bell was always the first rung when an alarm was given. In this event also a long pole with a lantern was extended from the belfry in the direction of the fire, thus guiding the firemen and citizens generally to the place where their services were needed. This lantern-pole was known as the "pointer," and its direction was always the first subject of inquiry when the fire-bells rang. When the jail was remodeled for other purposes, the alarm-bell so long connected with it was placed upon the Bridewell, and on the destruction of the latter building, being held in high regard by the firemen of the time, it was removed to the roof of the house of the Naiaid Hose Company, in Beaver Street, with which it was destroyed in the great fire of 1845.

In June, 1830, when the jail contained only thirty-five debtors, the Common Council received a communication from Jameson Cox, the Register, calling attention to the need of providing a fire-proof building for the safe keeping of the public records. The subject was referred to a committee, in accordance with whose report, in the July following, the Common Council decided to remodel the Debtors' Prison as a building for the Register's and other county offices, and voted an appropriation of \$15,000 for that purpose. Several other appropriations were subsequently made, amounting to about \$15,000 more. The building was reduced in height by one story, the cupola torn down and the roof covered with copper. A portico was added at each end, supported by six massive columns of marble from the Sing Sing quarries. The interior was extensively altered, and the exterior was stuccoed in imitation of marble. The Temple of Diana at Ephesus was taken as the model of the structure, which was considered at the time of its completion as the most perfect piece of architecture in the city. During the cholera season of 1832, while yet unfinished, the building was used as a cholera hospital. It was soon afterwards

completed, and the offices of the Register, Comptroller, Street Commission, and Surrogate established in it. The Register's office occupied only the west side of the first story, which then amply accommodated the comparatively small number of records. As the work of the office increased and documents accumulated, this space became much too narrow, and in 1858 the rooms of the Surrogate, on the same floor, were appropriated to the use of the Register. The Street Department was moved in the following year, leaving the whole upper story for the Comptroller's office, which, in the fall of 1869, was transferred to the new County Court-house.

In 1869 it was determined to devote the whole building to the use of the Register, and on May 18th, 1869, the Supervisors passed a resolution ordering the issue of not over one hundred thousand dollars in bonds, to be known as "New York County Repair of Building Stock," and to be used for the repairs of this building. In 1870 a further appropriation of \$40,000 was made for "refitting the Register's office," and bills for this amount were made out to A. J. Garvey for ostensibly performing the work. The iron stairway outside the northern end of the building, which formerly led to the Comptroller's office, was taken away and a wooden stairway erected inside the hall. Besides this, all that can be shown as the result of this expenditure are some gas-fixtures in the walls of the third story, a few desks, and a quantity of common wooden book-racks, which were placed in the second story and have never been used. No use whatever has ever been made by the Register of either the second or third story, because as it is constantly necessary to refer from one volume of the records to another, their dispersal over different floors would most seriously embarrass and delay the work of the office.

The hall running through the middle of the first story is used for maps, powers of attorney, discharges of mortgages, and indexes. On the west side are three rooms occupied for conveyances, and on the east side four rooms which are used for mortgages and by the recording clerks and searchers. All of these rooms are lined with combustible wooden book-racks, which contain the titles to all the real estate on Manhattan Island. There are twelve hundred large volumes of conveyances and nearly as many of mortgages, and the discharges, powers of attorney, indexes, etc., swell the total number of volumes to nearly twenty-eight hundred. The earliest Dutch records are at Albany, in the office of the Secretary of State, but the documents here extend as far back as 1665. The space is so inadequate that many volumes are stowed away in racks under the desks of the clerks, and unless other accommodations are afforded it will soon be necessary to pile them in heaps on the floor. The number of volumes has doubled during the last fifteen years, and the present increase is at the rate of a hundred volumes a year. The Register's office contains nearly eight hundred maps of real estate in this city, which are put away in wooden pigeon-holes, exposed not only to dust and the danger of fire, but to the attacks of mice, which abound all over the building, and are frequently seen running about the floor. These animals, attracted by the paste with which the paper surface of the maps is fastened to the muslin backs, have already mutilated a large number, rendering some absolutely worthless. Many of these maps are of great value, as references are made to marks and numbers upon them in important conveyances and mortgages, and their destruction might seriously affect the title to large amounts of real estate.

One map of this character, which has been in the office but two years, has been badly damaged in this manner. Those inmates of the Register's office who have been there long enough to know, assert that the ceilings have not been whitewashed or in any way cleaned for over fifteen years. No visitor to the building would be disposed to question the statement, as the ceilings in most of the rooms are as black as though overlaid with soot. The stools, desks, and other articles of furniture, originally of a cheap description, have been in use for a long series of years, and are so worn and battered that a second-hand furniture dealer would hardly purchase them. Panes of glass are broken out of some of the windows, and the openings stopped with books. Nearly all the glass has been broken in the outer entrance door, and the loss repaired with pieces of board. The furnaces in the basement, by which the office is heated, are old and worn out, in consequence of which the clerks are frequently nearly stifled by coal-gas. One of the hot-air openings is immediately under a book-rack, and the volumes of manuscript above it are sometimes so hot that a man can hardly bear his hand upon them. They are, of course, as dry as tinder and would readily take fire. Although the building is nominally fire-proof, the staircase leading to the second story is built of pitch pine. The main room on the second floor, besides useless book-niches before mentioned, contains a considerable quantity of boards and shavings which Mr. Garvey's workmen left behind them. Similar inflammable materials are scattered through the smaller rooms opening out of it, which are otherwise bare and empty. The sole contents of the new third story are more boards and shavings, two rusty old stoves, and some pieces of stove-pipe. The otherwise dirty floor is whitened in many places by the rain, as the costly new roof has leaked ever since its erection.

APPENDIX X.

HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF DESIGN.

BY T. ADDISON RICHARDS,

Corresponding Secretary of the National Academy of Design, and Professor of Art in the University of the City of New York.

THE National Academy of Design was instituted in the year 1826. It superseded the American Academy of Art, then the only society of the kind in the country, and with the organization and management of which the artists were dissatisfied.

The American Academy was a joint-stock association, composed chiefly of laymen, prominent citizens, connoisseurs, and patrons of art; and, perhaps, necessarily so, in view of the small number and smaller influence of the body professional at that time. It was organized on the 3d of December, 1802, under the title of the New York Academy of Fine Arts, and was chartered February 12th, 1808, under the altered style of the American Academy of Art, when the original number of shareholders (five hundred) was changed to one thousand, and the value of shares (one hundred dollars) to twenty-five dollars. The first president was Robert R. Livingston, though that office was afterward filled by the distinguished artist, Colonel John Trumbull. Among its directors were De Witt Clinton, David Hosack, John R. Murray, and other prominent citizens. The society purchased a collection of casts and opened a school for the study of the Antique. It also prepared exhibitions at irregular and long intervals, and with varying success. On the whole, it was not fortunate, and had a somewhat struggling existence for about twenty-five years, when it was at length absorbed by the new National Academy of Design.

The general causes of the discontent of the artists with the old Academy were the slight consideration paid to them and their virtual exclusion from the management, they deeming themselves to be more competent than laymen to control an art association. The immediate reason for the defection of the professional body was the rudeness shown to them and to the art-students when

they attempted to avail themselves of the very liberal privileges offered them of studying in the schools of the Academy during the pleasant hours of from six to eight in the morning only, and this without fire in the winter weather, and with doors opening sooner or later at the discretion and convenience of the janitor. Great offense chanced to be given to the young knights of the brush on a certain frosty morning, when they turned their indignant backs forever upon the grim old *Alma Mater*, and with Morse, afterward the illustrious inventor of the electric telegraph, at their head, they betook themselves to the rooms of the Historical Society in the old Alms-house building, City Hall Park, and formed a "Drawing Association" of their own. This happened on the 8th of November, 1825. Various yet fruitless efforts at reconciliation and reunion were made, when at length, on the 14th day of January, 1826, the "Drawing Association" resolved to set up permanently for itself, and after listening to a spirited address by their leader, Morse, they formed the National Academy of the Arts of Design, as the society was first named. The next day, January 15th, they met, and by ballot elected fifteen from their body who were to constitute the Academy, and by the 18th the "fifteen" had, as directed by the society, added ten others to their number. Of these original members, as we write, February, 1872, the only survivors are S. F. B. Morse, A. B. Durand, and T. S. Cummings.

The discussion of the points at issue between the two societies was the great topic of the time, and was argued at great length and considerable feeling in the columns of the *Evening Post*, the chief champions being Col. Trumbull, of the old Academy, and Prof. Morse, the leader of the new. These papers may be found *in extenso* in *Cummings's Historic Annals*, published in 1865.

The first charter of the association was obtained from the Legislature of New York in 1828.

GALLERIES AND EXHIBITIONS.

The school department being in operation, even before the formal organization of the new society, steps were at once taken toward the next means proposed for the promotion of the arts—the institution of the annual exhibitions, which have continued without interruption and with ever-increasing success to the present time, consisting now as then of original works by living artists, and never before exhibited by the Academy.

For the first exhibition, which took place in the spring of 1826, a small room was secured on the second story of a building at the south-west corner of Broadway and Reade Street. The apartment was lighted in the evening by six ordinary gas-burners, and was the first instance on record of a public exhibition of pictures at night. The venture failed to pay expenses, and the members were assessed to make up the loss.

Not discouraged with the ill-success of this first attempt, the second exhibition was duly prepared in the spring of 1827, but in new quarters, for the Academy was then and long afterward very migratory. This time an appreciating public was invited to a larger and somewhat better display, spread upon the walls of an apartment on the third story of the Arcade Baths, in Chambers Street, between Broadway and Centre Street—a building which afterward became successively Palmo's Opera-house, Burton's Theater, and the United States Marshal's Office. The Academy leased these premises for three years at

three hundred dollars per annum; and here were held also the third, fourth, and fifth exhibitions, in 1828, 1829, and 1830. The next ten exhibitions, from the sixth to the fifteenth inclusive (1831 to 1840), were held in very much more suitable rooms on the third floor of the Mercantile Library, in Clinton Hall, then at the corner of Nassau and Beekman Streets. These apartments were leased at an annual rent of five hundred dollars.

In 1840, at the expiration of the Clinton Hall lease, the Academy again removed, and this time went up-town, settling for another decade on the upper floor of what was then the Society Library building, at the corner of Broadway and Leonard Street. These galleries were larger and more commodious than any yet occupied by the society. The annual rent was increased to one thousand dollars. The exhibitions from the sixteenth to the twenty-fourth inclusive (1841 to 1849), were held here.

In 1850, the institution moved yet further up-town, and for the first time in its history, into its own house, having purchased the property formerly occupied by Brewer's stables in the rear of 663 Broadway, opposite Bond Street. Here a suite of six fine galleries was erected, having a total length of one hundred and sixty-four feet, and a breadth of fifty feet. The exhibitions of 1850 to 1854, twenty-fifth to twenty-ninth inclusive, took place here. After five years of occupancy the Academy thought fit to sell this property, for which it received about one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, affording a net gain on the investment of sixty-nine thousand dollars, and leaving, after the payment of all outstanding indebtedness, a balance in the treasury of nearly sixty thousand dollars. This accumulation of funds was the first step toward the erection of the palatial edifice afterward built by the Academy in Twenty-third Street.

On the sale of the Broadway property, while awaiting the building of a new home, it became necessary to find other accommodations, and temporary quarters were secured in the gallery over the entrance to what was then the Rev. Dr. Chapin's Church, at 518 Broadway. Here were given the thirtieth and thirty-first annual exhibitions in 1855 and 1856.

For the thirty-second exhibition in 1857 the old rooms at 663 Broadway, remaining then unchanged, were rented by the society. In 1858, a suite of galleries was fitted up by the Academy on the upper floor of the building at the north-west corner of Tenth Street and Fourth Avenue. The thirty-third, thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth, and thirty-sixth exhibitions, 1858 to 1861 inclusive, were held at this place. The thirty-seventh, thirty-eighth, and thirty-ninth exhibitions, 1862 to 1864 inclusive, took place in the galleries of the building 625 Broadway, then known as the Institute of Art or the Derby Gallery.

In the spring of 1865, the Academy took possession of a new edifice in Twenty-third Street, corner of Fourth Avenue, where all the subsequent exhibitions, the thirty-ninth to the forty-sixth, 1865 to 1871 inclusive, have been held, with the addition of the series of Winter Exhibitions, commencing in 1867, and of the Summer Exhibitions, established in 1870. The annual collections of the American Society of Painters in Water Colors have been included in the Winter Exhibitions of the Academy.

The site of the present beautiful edifice of the Academy was purchased in the autumn of 1860, from Mr. William Niblo, at a cost of fifty thousand dollars. Plans by Mr. P. B. Wight were submitted in January, 1861. Ground was first

broken on the 18th of April, 1863, and on the 21st day of October, in the same year, the corner-stone was laid with appropriate and imposing ceremonies.

The entire cost of the property, including the land, has been about two hundred and thirty-seven thousand dollars. The building has a frontage of 80 feet on the north side of Twenty-third Street, and extends 93 feet 9 inches on the west side of Fourth Avenue. It is three stories high, beside the cellar. The lower or street floor is occupied by the janitor's rooms, and the school apartment. The central story, which is reached by a double flight of elegant marble steps, entering a hall eighteen feet in width, is occupied by the Parlors, the Library, Council, and Lecture rooms, and other apartments. The upper floor is devoted entirely to the Exhibition rooms. In the center is a hall or corridor 34 by 40 feet, divided by a double arcade supported on columns of polished marble. The galleries, five in number and of varying dimensions, are all entered from this central vestibule, and all communicate with each other. The building is constructed of white and gray marble, tastefully contrasted, and richly sculptured. The architecture is that revived Gothic, now the dominant style in England, which combines the features of the different schools of the middle ages. It is familiarly spoken of as the Venetian Gothic; but the architect says of it, if a name for the style be demanded, it can only be said that the name of no past style of architecture is altogether appropriate to it. As the revived Gothic goes on toward more perfect success, it will find a name for itself

ORGANIZATION AND CHARACTER.

The Academy is a private association devoted to the public service. It is, as it ever has been, owned and controlled only by artists, no others being eligible, under the constitution, to membership, except in the complimentary grades of Honorary Members or Fellows. Its means are devoted entirely to the cultivation of the Arts of Design in all such ways as may be deemed available. Like similar institutions, in other countries, its chief methods of labor have thus far consisted of permanent organization of the professional body for the union of its experience, power, and influence, both within itself and upon the community at large; in the foundation of schools for technical instruction in the various branches of Art study; in the establishment of Exhibitions of Works of Art for the cultivation both of professional knowledge and the public taste; and of lectures upon Anatomy, Perspective, and other Art subjects.

MEMBERSHIP.

Membership in the Academy is both professional and lay, the former consisting of the Academicians, Associates, and Honorary Members, and the latter of Honorary Members and Fellows.

ASSOCIATES.—The Associates are chosen on their merits by ballot at the annual meetings of the Academicians. They must be professional artists and exhibitors at the time of their election.

ACADEMICIANS.—Academicians are chosen from the body of Associates and from professional Honorary Members. They are the body corporate, and, in their election, distinguished professional ability and personal character are the only claims entertained.

FELLOWS.—Connoisseurs, amateurs, and all lovers of Art may become Fel-

lows of the Academy on the payment of a subscription of one hundred dollars. Subscriptions of five hundred dollars constitute a Fellowship in Perpetuity, with power to transfer all the privileges of the grade, or to bequeath them forever. It is through the liberal subscriptions of the Fellowship Fund that a large portion of the means to erect the present edifice of the Academy has been obtained.

HONORARY MEMBERS.—Honorary Membership is conferred at the same time and in the same manner as in the election of Academicians and Associates upon distinguished artists and lovers of Art at home and abroad. No elections have been made into this body since the foundation of the grade of Fellows.

SCHOOLS.

The educational department of the Academy commenced with its earliest history, and has always been regarded as one of its most important fields of labor. Through nearly half a century, free schools have with rare interruptions been maintained. They embrace at present departments for the study of the Antique Sculpture, of the Living Model, of Pictorial Anatomy, and of Perspective, to which will be added, as may be required, classes in Modeling and in Painting. The schools being intended only for advanced students, all applicants for admission must be able to submit to the Council a shaded crayon drawing made from a cast of some portion of the human figure. The schools have been attended by hundreds of students, and they number among their graduates many of the most successful artists of the land. The late James A. Suydam, N. A., at his death, in 1865, bequeathed the munificent sum of fifty thousand dollars toward the maintenance of the Academy schools. Other and still larger endowments for this important work, are, however, greatly needed.

In these few pages we have been able to take only a cursory glance at the history of the Academy. The story of its struggles and fortunes, with sketches biographical and anecdotal of the many distinguished artists who are or have been among its members, might form the theme of a most interesting volume.

APPENDIX XI.

POLITICAL CORRUPTION IN NEW YORK.

SPEECH OF HON. R. B. ROOSEVELT

*Delivered at the Grand Mass Meeting in Cooper Union, on Monday Evening,
September 4th, 1871.*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I do not know whether it is exactly possible for a man to be born a Democrat, but I claim to come as near it as any one can. The earliest recollection that I have of public questions, when my arms had attained little more than seven years' pith, was my upholding staunchly and unswervingly the great doctrines of Democracy. Since that time I have been a Democrat—for Democracy is like vaccination: when it once takes well, it lasts a lifetime. But as I did not believe disloyalty to mean Democracy during the war, I do not believe dishonesty to mean Democracy now. The very corner-stone of our faith is pure, economical administration of government, and without that no code of principles can receive the hearty support of our party. Our party is a party of the people, and the people are always on the side of what is right and true. There may be, and there doubtless are, among both parties good, honorable men. Looking around me, I cannot doubt that both sides can lay equal credit in this particular. But those who love Democracy, those who have put their abiding faith in it and built up the hopes of the glory of their country on it, naturally look upon it as the representation of whatever is noblest and best.

To us Democrats, therefore, comes the charge of corruption against our rulers with a two-fold force, an especial horror. To hear that the chief officers of a Democratic city, who have been elected by an overwhelming majority of Democratic votes, some of whom have been chosen over and over again to various positions of trust, are venal and corrupt, is indeed almost incredible. And yet, what is the evidence? The charges are direct, plain, and explicit; misappropriations of vast sums are alleged; time, place, and circumstance are all stated through the daily press with the utmost exactness. Pretended pur-

chases, which are in their very nature impossible, are proved to have been paid for. The building and furnishing of our New Court-house are made the pretext for the payment of bills which are not merely monstrous—they are manifestly fabulous. It is pretended that acres of plastering have been done, and miles of carpeting furnished. The entire City Hall Park could have been plastered and carpeted at less expense; and no sane man can put faith in the pretense, if it were made, that the work charged for was really done. However, I must do our rulers the credit of saying that they make no such pretense. They have never denied the payments, they have not even asserted that the money was earned, while they have, in every one of their lame defenses, impliedly admitted that the bills were extravagant, if not fraudulent. They have presumed to defy the public; they have tried to lay half the blame on the shoulders of Republicans, as if a burglar were to excuse himself by asserting that he was assisted by a fellow-burglar; and they have stated that the charges were brought by political enemies, and so not entitled to answer; but nowhere has there been a straightforward, positive refutation—nowhere a denial even of any sort.

That they are guilty no man who has read the statements doubts for a moment, and no one believes that any such sums were actually expended on the Court-house. Nevertheless, I have been informed that this building, instead of costing \$3,000,000 or \$5,000,000, as alleged, the latter being supposed to be the extreme limit, has actually cost over \$12,000,000. To prove this I have been shown the figures purporting to have been taken from the Comptroller's books; but I hope I was deceived, and that they were exaggerations. But of the facts distinctly alleged in the public press there can be no question; it is admitted by default that millions on millions of the public money have been paid to a few obscure individuals, for which they never did nor could have performed equivalent labor; while a little printing company of \$25,000 capital has received \$1,500,000 from the county alone in two years.

Nevertheless, shocking as are these accusations, they are but trifling in comparison with the real crimes of the accused. Money is, after all, a trivial affair; we are a wealthy nation, growing with immense rapidity, rolling up capital and adding to our resources daily; we can endure limitless speculations in our officials, and still survive; but they have stolen from us something dearer and more sacred than our wealth—they have stolen our rights, our liberties, our very national institutions. Such wrongs as I have enumerated would never have been submitted to by the Democratic party had the individuals composing that party not first been deprived of the free expression of their will. These, our masters, have stolen our ballots, have falsified the will of the people, and pulled away the very key-stone of the arch of liberty.

What I am about to tell you I hardly expect you to believe; yet I will give you every point of time and circumstance. I will furnish you with every detail and all the minutiae of the mode of operations; and, large as is this meeting, were I to call my witnesses together, I could fill this building as full as it is now. I know whereof I speak; and in exposing these shameless iniquities rather in defense of Democracy than in arraignment of it, I really extenuate and set down naught in malice. By a combination of certain Democratic and Republican office-holders in this city the votes of the people no longer express their will. They are falsified in three different ways, so that no matter how honest the

mass of voters might be, the corrupt Ring would apparently be retained in power. To effect this, three forces are brought into play. There is the use of repeaters at the polls, the manipulation of ballots as they are deposited, and the false counting of them in making up the canvass. Precisely how these schemes are managed I will explain to you.

Heretofore there has been a registry of all legal voters in this city. I can only speak of the past. I cannot tell what Tammany will do hereafter; and now that the registry law has been repealed we may be sure that matters will not be improved. There were three registers to supervise these lists, three inspectors to receive the votes, and three canvassers to count them. One of each of these boards was a Republican, and could stop all frauds if he pleased, but as the parties to be defeated were only those Democrats who were opposed to Tammany, he shut his eyes with resolute determination. To begin with, gangs of repeaters were organized, whose first duty was to have their names recorded in as many districts as possible, usually from a dozen to fifty; and it was curious with what childlike innocence the Republican register would receive the names of one hundred men who assumed to reside at the private dwelling of some leading Tammany ward politician, or who pretended to camp out on some vacant lot. So the repeaters were enrolled; and I have had lists of them offered to me for sale at so much a vote when Tammany did not need them.

On election day these men went to the polls in gangs with their captains, and marched from district to district like companies of soldiers. If one of them was challenged, the result depended upon the locality; in a disreputable neighborhood, the challenger was knocked into the gutter and probably locked up by the police for disturbing the polls. In a district where this would not answer, the accused was taken before a police magistrate, who sat all day to hear just such cases, and who let him out on bail, the necessary bail being also on hand for the purpose, and the repeater was usually back at the polls and hard at work before the challenger, and no one ever heard of such a case being brought to trial afterward.

In another way were these repeaters used. Many people, especially wealthy Republicans, do not vote. It is the duty of every man to vote; this is one of the obligations he assumes in demanding liberty; and rather than have the duty neglected, Tammany sees that it is performed. Toward the latter part of the day it will be found that certain persons who are registered have not voted, and it then belongs to the polling officers to copy such names on slips and pass them to the proper parties outside; and it would horrify, if not amuse, some of our wealthy millionaires to see what ragged-clothed, bloated-faced and disreputable individuals represented them at the polls and performed for them a public duty which they had neglected. This is repeating. I have given you but a hurried sketch of it; the votes polled by it count up tens of thousands. But, successful as it was, it had its defects. The repeaters began to imagine they were their own masters; they thought they held the power, because they were the instruments of power. To use a political term, they undertook to set up shop for themselves. Still repeating, when kept in its place, is not disapproved by our Ring rulers.

The manipulation of the ballots—"Ringin'" the ballots, as it is appropriately called—is a very beautiful operation, and it is said by those who have tried it

to be perfect. It is now the favorite plan ; it is simple, inexpensive, and effective. When one of your good, innocent Republicans, we will suppose, is going to the polls to vote the wrong ticket or support the wrong man, as you are so fond of doing, your unwise intentions are quietly frustrated. The inspector holds in his hand the ballot you ought to deposit, and when he receives yours quietly substitutes one for the other and drops yours on the floor before he puts his in the box. This is a simple sleight-of-hand trick, easily learned and readily applied. If, however, you are suspicious, and watch the official, or if the latter is awkward and inexperienced, a man near by pushes against you, or the policeman seizes you and accuses you of having voted before. Of course ample apologies are immediately tendered for the rudeness, the inspectors are indignant that so respectable a gentleman should be insulted, they abuse the rough or the policeman, and you are shown out with great respect ; but your ballot is thrown down on the floor, and the substitute got into the box. Repeating is expensive, false counting is troublesome, our Tammany men are not experts at arithmetic, and figures are often troublesome, as our amiable Comptroller will admit at this moment ; but " Ringing " ballots is a complete success. It is only necessary to buy a Republican inspector, and a small place or a few hundred dollars will usually do that.

The third plan is false counting. This is done generally by transferring the figures boldly. For instance, if Jones, the Tammany candidate, gets one hundred votes, and Smith, the opposition candidate, receives two hundred, the two hundred of Smith are transferred to Jones, who gives his one hundred to Smith. This is an exquisitely simple process, but in practice it is said to work badly, and great complaint is made of it by those who have tried it. In the first place, the candidates are often too nearly equal to give Tammany its just preponderance, or to overcome some persistent opposition in a district where this plan cannot be worked, for it is found utterly impracticable in some districts. Its defects can sometimes be cured by a false count. That is to say, the votes are counted by tens, one canvasser taking them up and counting ten, when he calls " tally," and slips a piece of elastic around the bundle. Of course he has only to take five votes instead of ten, and call " tally," to augment greatly the chance of his favorite. In one instance this was done so enthusiastically that the Tammany candidate had received fifty " tallies," or five hundred votes, and had a large quantity yet uncounted, when the poll-clerk felt it advisable to inform the canvassers that there were only four hundred and fifty names on the registry.

Between these three schemes the voice of the people of New York has been utterly stifled up until last fall, when, by the cruel and tyrannical interference of the United States Government, under the vile bayonet election law, we got a fair vote. The wrong was not so much done to Republicans, for the inspectors saw that comparative justice was secured to their party on general issues ; but it was allowed full scope against opposition Democrats—Democrats who believed in a pure government, and were opposed to Tammany Hall. Thus it is that Democrats have to bear the entire odium of the misrule of our city, while we Democrats still believe our party to be the honest one.

This odium we cannot endure. I speak as a Democrat to Democrats. If we would see a chance of carrying the next Presidential election, of taking the nation from the hands of those who, in our opinion, are unfit to have control

of it, of restoring to general acceptance the principles we have at heart, we must vindicate our party; we must remove the load of disgrace brought on us by official corruption in this city. Here we are in control. We have undisturbed possession of all branches of the municipal government, and an immense majority of voters. For all frauds, speculation, venality, and iniquity in the municipal government we are responsible, and no party with such a record will ever be given the possession of the National Administration. We must crush Tammany, or Tammany's dishonesty will crush us. Large portions of the money stolen from our treasury were used to bribe Republicans; notoriously, the very charter under which we live was carried by the purchase of a Republican. Municipal officers and the spoil of our citizens have been divided between both parties. But none of this excuses us. We are in power; we can correct the abuses; if we do not, we ought to suffer, and we will. If Republicans are not blameless, we are mainly guilty.

Already we are threatened with the loss of the Germans. That economical people will not submit to have their houses mortgaged by the issue of municipal bonds in order to give to corrupt men wealth and luxury. From all sections of the country come complaints from Democrats that they have to defend the iniquities of Tammany Hall, and that they are beaten by the bad record of our city rulers. If Democracy would survive, it must put down with a strong hand these abuses. We can still do so. The people are not so entirely helpless as our masters would have us believe. The latter cannot defy an outraged and indignant community with the impunity they hope. The power is still with us if we are willing and determined to exert it. In times of great excitement the usual barriers are swept away, and the people rush along in a mighty current which carries all before it. Those who would resist it are overwhelmed and perish, but the corrupt always cower before it and are most earnest to conciliate it. So it will be here. Canvassers, inspectors, and registers, be they Democrats or Republicans, are as fond of their lives as though they were honest men; and no one appreciates the danger of irritating the people more than they. An aroused and outraged public is not patient, and Judge Ledwith laid down good law when he told his friends that if they saw an inspector tamper with their ballots they could shoot him on the spot. The man who cheats a nation out of its birthright has committed the highest of crimes, and deserves no mercy. We are living under a wrong system. To allow a mayor elected for two years to appoint all other municipal officials for five years may be Tammany Democracy, but it is not ours. That system must be changed; a proper mode of selecting polling officers must be established; every protection must be given to the ballot; and, incidentally to these reforms, the Ring which secured control of Tammany Hall must be put down; and then, not only will our city's fame be redeemed, our taxes lightened, our business affairs improved, our commerce increased, and our metropolis made what it should be, the grandest city in the world, but Democracy and Republican institutions will be relieved from the discredit which has been brought upon them.

LIST OF PRESENTS

RECEIVED BY MR. TWEED'S DAUGHTER ON THE OCCASION OF HER WEDDING.

Cornelius Corson, coral set.....	\$1,000
Cornelius Corson, watch in finger-ring.....	1,000
Charles E. Loew, pearl set.....	700
Mrs. E. A. Garrett, diamond locket, gold chain.....	5,000
Peter B. Sweeny, diamond and enamel bracelet.....	1,000
James M. Sweeny, diamond bracelets.....	1,000
Harry Genet, diamond cross.....	2,000
Edward Boyle, gold, diamond, and pearl cross.....	1,000
James Ryan, sable chain necklace, gold and diamonds.....	1,500
Superintendent Kelso, ice-bowl.....	500
Henry Smith, filagree armlets.....	700
Mrs. R. B. Connolly, gold and silver ice-dish.....	500
Mrs. E. A. Woodward, silver punch-bowl.....	500
Mrs. Geo. J. Miller, silver cake-baskets.....	500
M. J. Shandley, paintings and wax flowers.....	1,000
Charles H. Hall, pitcher and goblet.....	500
Mrs. Edward Hogan, silver ice-cream dish.....	500
Mrs. Augustus L. Brown, fruit-dish, bowl, and pitcher.....	250
Charles G. Cornell, silver pitcher and goblet.....	250
Sheriff Brennan, silver dish and spoons.....	500
Mrs. Joseph B. Young, two silver castors.....	250
Dr. Carnochan, silver-ware.....	500
Nicol & Davidson, bronze statue of Juno.....	500
Thomas J. Creamer, gold and silver ware.....	1,000
J. H. Tooker, silver-ware.....	500
James Fisk, Jr., silver ice-bowl.....	500
Mrs. L. Ingersoll, bouquet-holder.....	500
John Garvey, silver gong.....	500
Senator Norton, gold chain and diamond pendant.....	1,500
Mrs. John J. Blair, cameo, diamond, and pearl set.....	2,500
Frank Voorhies, turquois and pearl set.....	500
Joseph G. Harrison, cameo sleeve-buttons, with diamonds.....	1,000
John McB. Davidson, neck-chain, gold, pearls, diamonds, and enamel....	1,500
John H. Keyser, necklace and diamond cross.....	1,000
James H. Ingersoll, diamond wheat-spray for the hair.....	2,000
John Cox (Judge), chain and diamond locket.....	2,500
Hugh Smith, emerald and diamond locket.....	5,000
Joseph S. Bosworth, Jr., diamond and pearl ring.....	1,500
John H. Williams, full silver service.....	1,000
Thomas C. Fields, gold and diamond necklace and ear-rings.....	5,000
W. E. King, emerald, diamond, and gold bracelets.....	5,000
George G. Barnard, gold, diamond, and pearl necklace.....	1,000
Edward Kearney, amethyst and diamond set.....	1,000
A sincere friend of W. M. Tweed, diamond set, in gold and glass box..	5,000

Thurlow Weed, sugar-bowl.....	\$500
Andrew J. Garvey, silver set.....	500
Eugene Durnin, silver set.....	500
J. S. Bosworth, silver-ware.....	250
Jay Gould, silver-ware.....	250
W. W. Watson, silver set.....	500
H. J. Hastings, silver punch-bowl.....	250
E. D. Bassford, silver ice-pitcher.....	100
Walter Roche, silver-ware.....	250
Dr. Schirmer, silver-ware.....	250
E. J. Shandley, card-basket.....	400
John J. Deane, card-basket.....	250
Isaac Bell, clock and chandeliers.....	1,000
Thomas W. Hall, vases.....	500
Lord & Taylor, bridal parasol.....	1,000
J. McGinnis, clock and candlestick.....	500
James J. Gumbleton, fan.....	250
Ely Ingersoll, French clock.....	500

APPENDIX XII.

ACT OF INCORPORATION OF THE TAMMANY SOCIETY.

AN ACT to Incorporate the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order in the City of New York. Passed April 9th, 1805.

Whereas, William Mooney and other inhabitants of the City of New York have presented a petition to the Legislature setting forth that they, since the year 1789, have associated themselves under the name and description of the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order, for the purpose of affording relief to the indigent and distressed members of the said Association, their widows and orphans, and others who may be found proper objects of their charity; they therefore solicit that the Legislature will be pleased by law to incorporate the said Society for the purposes aforesaid, under such limitations and restrictions as to the Legislature shall seem meet.

Therefore, be it enacted by the people of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, that such persons as now are or shall from time to time become members of the said Society shall be and are hereby ordained, constituted, and declared to be a body corporate and politic in deed, fact, and name, by the name of "The Society of Tammany or Columbian Order in the City of New York;" and that by that name they and their successors shall have succession, and shall be persons in law, capable of suing and being sued, pleading and being impleaded, answering and being answered unto, defending and being defended in all courts and places whatsoever, in all manner of actions, suits, complaints, matters, and causes whatsoever; and that they and their successors may have a common seal, and change and alter the same at their pleasure; and that they and their successors shall be persons capable in law to purchase, take, receive, hold, and enjoy to them and their successors any real estate in fee simple or for term of life or lives or otherwise, and any goods, chattels, or personal estate, for the purpose of enabling them the better to carry into effect the benevolent purposes of affording relief to the

indigent and distressed, provided that the clear yearly value of such real and personal estates shall not exceed the sum of five thousand dollars; and that they and their successors shall have full power and authority to give, grant, sell, lease, devise, or dispose of the said real and personal estates, or any part thereof, at their will and pleasure; and that they and their successors shall have power from time to time to make, constitute, ordain, and establish by-laws, constitutions, ordinances, and regulations as they shall judge proper, the election of their officers, for the election or admission of new members of the said corporation, and the terms and manner of admission, for the better government and regulation of their officers and members, for fixing the times and places of meeting of the said corporation, and for regulating all the affairs and business of the said corporation; provided, that such by-laws and regulations shall not be repugnant to the Constitution or laws of the United States or of this State; and for the better carrying on the business and affairs of the said corporation there shall be such numbers of officers of the said corporation and of such denomination or denominations to be chosen in such manner and at such times and places as are now or shall from time to time be directed by the constitution and by-laws of the said corporation, made or to be made for that purpose; and that such number and description of members shall be sufficient to constitute a legal meeting of the said corporation as are now or may hereafter be directed by the said constitution and by-laws of the said corporation.

And be it further enacted, that this act be and hereby is declared to be a public act, and that the same be construed in all courts and places benignly and favorably for every beneficial purpose therein intended.

STATE OF NEW YORK, SECRETARY'S OFFICE.

I have compared the preceding with the original on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom, and of the whole of said original law.

Given under my hand and seal of office at the City of Albany,
this 24th day of January, in the year 1859.

[SEAL.]

S. W. MORTON, *Dep. of Secretary of State.*

APPENDIX XIII.

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF HENRY INMAN, THE ARTIST.

FROM THE PRIVATE MANUSCRIPT DIARY OF THE LATE
MRS. COL. WILLIAM L. STONE.

NEW YORK, *August 12th*, 1838.

"I CALLED this morning on my husband's friend, Henry Inman, to sit for my portrait. When I went in I found Vanderlyn, the favorite pupil of Gilbert Stuart, with him. He, however, soon went away and left us together. Inman looked haggard and worn.* He seemed glad to see me, and gave me more of his confidence than usual. To-day he related to me the particulars of his early life-struggles. I listened attentively while he unfolded before me pages in the history of his inner life. He has a beautiful mind, the most exquisite perception of moral, intellectual, and natural beauty, and a keen relish of the harmonies. He possesses the choicest social qualities and the finest sensibilities. Indeed, his feelings are so delicate, that it requires a very refined nature to understand him. As a natural consequence, he is quite often misunderstood by coarser minds.

"In speaking of his early life, Mr. Inman said: 'From my boyhood my greatest recreation was a pencil and piece of paper. My father was possessed of a harsh, uncompromising temper, and thought every one must be brought up alike. He had made up his mind to dispose of me very differently from what my taste suggested. But my mother was gentle and persuasive; she spoke in my behalf, and argued that my success would be far greater in a branch of business that suited my talents. Shortly after this, my father met John Wesley Jarvis, the painter, who was then in the zenith of popular favor. He spoke of me to him, and procured an interview. Jarvis at once proposed to take me (then only fifteen) as a pupil. Soon afterward, I went with him to

* This was just after Inman had lost nearly all of the means he had acquired by his art through unfortunate speculations in 1836.

Albany, where we put up at Crittenden's, the most expensive hotel in the place. He represented me as a wonderful boy, and kept me living at great expense, thereby creating a taste for a style of life far above my means to support. Here he left me for several weeks, while he went to a distant city to fulfill an engagement. When he returned, I told him I was in difficulty; that I had incurred heavy expenses in his absence, and had no means to pay my bills; and that I had written to my father for advice, but had received for an answer that he had no money to give me, and I must take care of myself. "Then," said Jarvis, "you must paint. You can paint now better than any one in this country except me; and you can paint cabinet-pictures, in a style in which I will instruct you, that will consume but little time. You can turn them off very fast, and charge low, say five or six dollars; you can paint half a dozen in a week. I will speak to all the great people here, and tell them what a wonderful lad you are; you will soon have plenty of work. You can stay here this winter and pursue this course, while I go to New Orleans. I will pay what I can of Crittenden's bill already run up, and in the spring, upon my return, we will begin again in New York." Jarvis was as good as his word, and during that winter I painted *every member* of the Legislature, which brought me in a considerable sum. Jarvis, though very dissipated, and careless in money matters, was always very kind-hearted and liberal, and willing to share all he had with me. My disposition was timid, and I never received any encouragement from my father; but Jarvis wound himself round my heart by his kindly sympathy. He always tried to make me believe I was equal to anything I had a mind to undertake. The best society and the finest abilities in the State congregated at Crittenden's; and my stay had its advantages in that respect.

"I recollect well a morning passed in Inman's studio last spring. We had considerable talk of pictures, and of one in particular that happened to be at the time on his easel—a picture of a little boy of two years of age. On my expressing my surprise at his having attained a perfect likeness of a sitter who was not one moment quiet, he replied that it was difficult; it made him a little nervous, but that he painted parts—the form of the head and features—while the child sat asleep in the nurse's lap; for the rest, he gave him some toy, and, when he was full of delight, caught the expression.

"I remarked, it had often surprised me to see pictures where the form and features were correct, and yet entirely spoiled by the expression—either the absence of expression, or a smile about the mouth, in which the other features did not participate. The expression lacked harmony—the indescribable play of the features was wanting.

" 'Ah, yes,' cried he, 'there you have it; I always consider, when I fail to convey in a picture the play of the features free from constraint, that I have failed altogether—it is all labor lost.'

"I remember Inman's showing me a portrait of Miss T——, the general's daughter. He had taken great pains with the composition of it. A friend, who was with me, found fault with it, and told him the attitude was not natural. He was a little nettled by the criticism. My friend doubtless was wrong, as that is a part of the picture which had been greatly admired by artists. Miss T—— was celebrated for her beauty, and, when abroad, appeared at the different courts of England, France, Austria, Russia, Italy, etc., where she was styled 'The beautiful American.' She has the most perfect self-possession I ever saw

and a more complete understanding of the various factors which influence the development of the individual. The study of the individual is a complex one, and it is one which has attracted the attention of many of the leading scientists of the world. The study of the individual is a study which is of great importance to the human race, and it is one which is of great interest to all of us. The study of the individual is a study which is of great importance to the human race, and it is one which is of great interest to all of us.

The study of the individual is a study which is of great importance to the human race, and it is one which is of great interest to all of us. The study of the individual is a study which is of great importance to the human race, and it is one which is of great interest to all of us. The study of the individual is a study which is of great importance to the human race, and it is one which is of great interest to all of us. The study of the individual is a study which is of great importance to the human race, and it is one which is of great interest to all of us. The study of the individual is a study which is of great importance to the human race, and it is one which is of great interest to all of us.

The study of the individual is a study which is of great importance to the human race, and it is one which is of great interest to all of us. The study of the individual is a study which is of great importance to the human race, and it is one which is of great interest to all of us. The study of the individual is a study which is of great importance to the human race, and it is one which is of great interest to all of us. The study of the individual is a study which is of great importance to the human race, and it is one which is of great interest to all of us. The study of the individual is a study which is of great importance to the human race, and it is one which is of great interest to all of us.

The study of the individual is a study which is of great importance to the human race, and it is one which is of great interest to all of us. The study of the individual is a study which is of great importance to the human race, and it is one which is of great interest to all of us. The study of the individual is a study which is of great importance to the human race, and it is one which is of great interest to all of us. The study of the individual is a study which is of great importance to the human race, and it is one which is of great interest to all of us. The study of the individual is a study which is of great importance to the human race, and it is one which is of great interest to all of us.

in one of her age, for she is now only eighteen. After her return, several artists were engaged to paint her, but the pictures were declared by her father and admirers failures. I asked Inman what he thought of her face—if people did not err in styling it symmetrical,—and if he were not surprised to observe one of her age so entirely placid and unmoved under all circumstances. He said he was—that her features, considered separately, were far from handsome; but, as a whole, they produced a very agreeable impression. ‘But, in illustration of your last remark,’ he continued, ‘I will tell you what happened when her father brought her to see me, and engaged my services. He began by telling me how sadly he had been disappointed in all the likenesses taken of his daughter; how much trouble she had given herself to sit for his gratification, and with how little success; that persons who had much reputation, and succeeded with others, failed here, etc. To relieve us from a conversation which was rather embarrassing, I turned to Miss T——, and in a playful manner said, “Let me look at your face, Miss T——, and see if I can discover what it is which makes your face so difficult to paint.” Instead of bursting into a laugh, as most girls would, or blushing a little, and thus imparting a higher interest to the expression of her features, she turned her face toward me without the least change of expression, and with the utmost coolness, as if the face had belonged to a third party. “Alas,” thought I, “it is sad to think your friends should have taken so much pains to repress in you the natural expression of those emotions which are so beautiful and so natural to youth, and which impart to them an interest which no accomplishment can give!”’

“I remember, also, seeing on one of his easels a very sweet picture of a young girl, in a straw gypsy trimmed with a simple blue ribbon. On inquiring who was the original, he showed me an extremely awkward likeness by a rude hand, from which he assured me he had composed this. He stated that the young lady was dead, and this sketch, by an unfledged artist, was all the parents possessed of their child. The family assured him that his likeness was a perfect representation of the original. What a beautiful and wonderful art! It seems as if it might belong to angels both in its earthly and spiritual attributes!

“The rapidity with which Inman paints is marvelous. A few months since my husband (by preconcerted arrangement) came into his studio accompanied by his father, an aged Revolutionary veteran. My husband had long been desirous of having his father sit for his portrait, but the latter had always resolutely refused; and he now came into Inman’s room ignorant that it was an artist’s studio. Inman placed the old veteran in his sitter’s chair, took a seat at a desk, and began to converse with him about his exploits in the Revolutionary War, and of General Washington, and the great men who figured in that struggle for liberty, and soon the old gentleman was quite absorbed in his narrations. After half an hour had been thus employed, the son walked up to Inman’s desk, and, looking over his shoulder, involuntarily exclaimed; ‘Why, it is perfect.’

“The old gentleman started to his feet. ‘Surely,’ cried he, ‘you have not stolen my likeness?’ It was even so; and never was there a more perfect portrait.

“Inman tells me that when he has made himself comfortable in circumstances by portrait-painting, he intends to go abroad, and paint several pieces

which lie enshrined in his thoughts, and only require time and opportunity to embody and render tangible. He is exceedingly fond of his children, especially his eldest daughter, Mary. She is not over fifteen, but has the development of one of eighteen or twenty; and he says her mind is remarkably mature. He tells me he does not mean to yield to his desire to visit Europe till she has finished her school-days, and can go with him and share his enjoyment.* He has met with many disappointments, but he never croaks nor complains of the world's churlishness. In person he is somewhat short and thick-set. He has a rather large head, which seems bigger on account of an abundance of light-brown hair which grows low down on his forehead, and injures somewhat the appearance of his head. His eyes are light blue, and his nose rather (as he playfully expresses it) of the '*snub order* belonging to a particular order of classical noses.' The expression of his face is not particularly striking, but exceedingly amiable, and about the mouth and chin there is much sweetness. The latter contains a dimple. He has a large share of that simplicity and enthusiasm in his pursuits which are the concomitants of true genius. He possesses, also, an exquisite imagination. A constant succession of beautiful images seems to pass before him when he is in health or spirits. But the imagination takes its tone from the state of the health which affects the mind; and they who in health revel amid a world of ideal splendor, pay a heavy tax when sickness, sorrow, and suffering clothe every object which imagination presents in the most revolting or gloomy drapery.

"He once told me an anecdote that I wish that I could recollect in all its particulars. He had painted some pictures which had given great satisfaction—a thing he appreciated far higher than money; but being unexpectedly dunned, and failing in other quarters, he was obliged to resort to the collection of his dues from this source with great reluctance. He wrote a note expressive of these feelings, which he repeated, and which I understood perfectly, but the person to whom it was addressed, not being cast in a delicate mold like himself, took it as a reflection on his want of promptness in making payment, and treated it accordingly. He said it cost him a degree of chagrin that was almost insupportable.

* * * * *

"SARATOGA SPRINGS, *January 22d*, 1846.

"I have just seen in the *Commercial* the death of Henry Inman, the artist. The shock was very great, not having heard of his illness. He died on the 17th inst., of disease of the heart, aged 45. He suffered greatly, I remember, from physical derangement while I was sitting, so that he was often very fever-

* Inman's intention in this respect was carried out during the latter portion of his life. In 1844, accompanied by his daughter, he went to England, having been sent on a special mission to Rydal by Professor Henry Reed, of Philadelphia, to procure the likeness of Wordsworth. Mr. James T. Fields, in his charmingly told *Yesterdays with Authors*, gives an account of a visit he made to Wordsworth, and the interview between himself and the poet and his wife. During this visit he saw a duplicate of the picture painted by Inman hanging in the poet's library. "The painter's daughter, who accompanied her father," writes Mr. Field, "made a marked impression on Wordsworth, and both he and his wife joined in the question 'Are all the girls in America as pretty as she?' I thought it an honor," continued Mr. Field, "that Mary Inman might well be proud to be so complimented by the old bard."

During his stay in England, Inman painted, also, very remarkable likenesses of several distinguished persons, among whom was Dr. Chalmers.—*Author*.

ish, and I used to be on the *qui vive* lest I should do or say anything to increase his irritability. Persons of less vital energy would have taken to the bed under circumstances when he worked laboriously. When the rage for speculation came on, he was drawn into the vortex, and alas! poor fellow, he is only one among many, whose peace of mind was destroyed, and whose sleepless solicitude produced diseases from which death could alone release them. How many creations of beauty are entombed with him!

"A sentiment which he once quoted to me, as expressive of his feelings, now comes back to me with great force. 'For myself,' he said, 'much rather would I sleep where the moonbeams would convert into diamonds the dew-drops gathering on the rosebuds, than to lie beneath the dome of St. Peter's—rather rest where the soft south-wind would wake the fragrance of blossoms which affectionate hands had planted, than to molder in the chambers of the eternal pyramids.' " *

* At the time of his death Inman was Vice-President of the National Academy of Design. Immediately upon his decease, of a complaint aggravated, if indeed not brought on, as hinted in Mrs. Stone's Diary, by anxiety of mind, a public exhibition was given in New York of such of his paintings as could readily be collected, for the benefit of his widow and children. The extent of his works may in some measure be judged of from the fact that this particular collection contained one hundred and twenty-seven paintings of various kinds.—*Author.*

APPENDIX XIV.

MESSAGE OF GOVERNOR HOFFMAN RELATING TO THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

*Showing the Value of Real Estate, etc., etc.; together with a Comparison between
New York and other Cities.*

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, ALBANY,

January 2d, 1872.

To the Legislature:

The financial condition of New York City is a matter of great interest to the people of the State at large, and, in some degree, to the commercial world, its stocks and bonds being held for investment at home and abroad. In view of the recent events, I deemed it my duty to procure for you full information as to its liabilities and resources, and addressed a letter to the Chairman of the State Board of Commissioners for Revision of the Tax Laws, the Hon. David A. Wells, who seemed to me specially fitted for the work, requesting him to investigate and report to me. In consequence of delay in his obtaining some of the facts, his report did not reach me until my annual message was in print. My letter to him and his reply are as follows:

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
Albany, November 25th, 1871.

MY DEAR SIR—The financial condition and credit of New York City are of interest as well to the people of the State at large as to its own citizens. It is important that the actual condition of our great metropolis in reference to its indebtedness and its resources should be made known with accuracy; and I desire to communicate the facts to the Legislature and the people of the State in my next message. Will you undertake to investigate the matter in my behalf?

Very truly yours,

Hon. DAVID A. WELLS,

Chairman, etc.

JOHN T. HOFFMAN.

NEW YORK, December 28th, 1871.

SIR—In response to your note of November 25th, requesting me to investigate and report to you on the relation which exists between the indebtedness of the city and county of New York, and the resources available for the payment of such indebtedness; or the extent of the resources of property which may be fully regarded as constituting an adequate and inalienable security for the ultimate payment in principal and interest of such indebtedness, I have the honor to submit the following exhibit:

FUNDED DEBT.

By report furnished on request by Hon. A. H. Green, Comptroller, it appears that the funded debt—bearing *five, six, and seven* per cent. interest—of the city and county of New York, was, on the 16th day of December, 1871, \$87,371,808.51; and the assets of the sinking fund of the city and county—consisting of stocks and cash—available for the redemption of debt, were on the same day \$20,137,093.02; thus making the present *net* funded debt of the city and county of New York, \$67,234,715.49.

FLOATING OR TEMPORARY DEBT.

The temporary or floating debt of the city and county of New York—consisting of bonds issued in anticipation of receipts and assessments, arrears of interest, State taxes, unpaid warrants and the like—was on the 16th day of December, 1871, \$28,259,071.35; or, deducting cash on hand—\$6,959,919.62 in the city and county treasury—\$21,299,152.73.

In addition to the above, the Comptroller also reports claims already presented on unsettled accounts, to an estimated aggregate of \$6,000,000; which last included would make the total *ascertained* debt and “claims presented” of the city and county of New York, on the 16th of December, 1871, \$94,523,867.22.

PROSPECTIVE INDEBTEDNESS.

So much for the present aspect of the indebtedness of the city and county of New York. In respect to the future, it is to be noted:

First.—That much of the existing temporary and floating debt of the city and county of New York as above indicated—including an aggregate of assessment bonds issued in anticipation of tax receipts of \$14,950,700.00—is redeemable from the collection of assessments, or arrears of taxes, and that a very considerable amount of these assessments and arrears is certain to be collected; and,

Second.—That the city holds bonds and mortgages on account of sales of real estate to the amount of \$1,132,893.26; the proceeds of which, when collected, are applicable for an increase of the sinking fund held for the redemption of the funded debt.

On the other hand, it is known that claims to a very considerable amount for services rendered and materials furnished to the several departments of the city and county government, during the year 1871 and previously, are yet to be presented, and that the carrying out of such public works as are already in progress, or certain to be authorized, will also require further additional expenditures.

But in estimating the amount of these prospective requirements for expend-

ture, it should not be overlooked, that the amount of claims against the city yet to be presented is not likely to be in excess of the arrears of assessments and taxes yet to be collected; and further, that the amount to be hereafter expended on account of public improvements cannot, with any regard for economy and moderation, ever prove disproportionate to the concurrent increase in the material resources of the city, arising from its certain and rapid increase in wealth, business, and population.

So that, making every allowance for contingencies, or any immediate advances on account of public improvements, the total present liabilities of New York city and county may be safely estimated as not in excess of *one hundred millions of dollars*; and further, that the ratio which the liabilities of the city and county at present sustain to their assets and resources is not likely to be changed for the worse in the future; certainly *not* if the safeguards against corruption and extravagant expenditure, suggested by recent experience, are by the Legislature authorized and provided.

INFLUENCE OF PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS IN AUGMENTING THE SOURCES OF MUNICIPAL REVENUE.

As bearing upon the question of future municipal liabilities, on account of expenditures for public improvements, it is interesting to note the result which has followed one of the largest single items of expenditure authorized by the city for such purpose, and which at the time of its inception was denounced by many as a measure of indefensible extravagance. We refer to the expenditures incurred by reason of the construction of the "Central Park;" the cost of which, up to 1869, is returned at \$10,463,965.00.

Now, an examination of all the facts pertaining to this expenditure will show, that, so far from its having been a burden upon the city treasury, it has really proved a direct and important source of revenue. Thus in 1856, before the Park was commenced, the total valuation of real estate for taxation in the three wards around the Park, the 12th, 19th, and 22d, was \$26,429,566.00; but in 1866, when the Park had been practically completed, the valuation of the same property for assessment was returned at \$80,070,415.00, an increase in ten years of \$53,640,850.00. And further, the revenue received by taxation on this increased valuation was sufficient, in 1870, to not only pay the interest on all the bonds of the city issued for the Park purchase and construction, but actually afforded a surplus of over (\$3,000,000) *three millions of dollars*; or a sum sufficient, if used as a sinking fund, to pay the entire principal and interest of the cost of the Park, in less time than the Park was in the course of construction.

ASSETS AND RESOURCES.

The maximum of the liabilities of the city and county, on account of indebtedness, having been thus estimated, we come next to the no less important consideration of the assets and resources available for the payment of such indebtedness; or the real tangible property which may be properly regarded in the nature of security or guaranty for the payment of such obligations of indebtedness as the city and county of New York may have lawfully issued.

Any valuation of the public property of the city must, from necessity, be very indefinite, inasmuch as many of the items which would be included in any inventory—as the streets, sewers, lamps, public monuments, and the like—

are not susceptible of a money valuation, and if attached would be practically of no benefit in the hands of a city creditor; but apart from these, it cannot be doubted that the value of the lands and buildings, wharfs, water, ferry, and market rights in possession of the city and county, and which can be readily convertible in open market into a money equivalent, is in excess of every present municipal or county indebtedness.

The valuation of the public property of the city of New York, given by the Mayor in an official communication to the Board of Supervisors, August 16th, 1871, was \$242,985,499.00.

In this valuation were comprised the following:

Markets.....	\$4,767,374 00
Sundry Lots of Land.....	2,719,307 00
Wharfs and Piers.....	13,322,433 00
Public Parks and Squares.....	106,416,490 00
Total.....	\$126,725,574 00

Next to the so-called public property of the city and county, the property most readily available for attachment and levy in case of a default in the payment of the principal or interest of the city's indebtedness, is the real estate of the city and county, the revenue derived from the assessment and taxation of which constitutes also the main element and strength of its municipal credit.

The valuation of this class of property for the year 1871, as returned by the Commissioners of Taxes and confirmed by the Board of Supervisors, was \$769,306,410.00. But it ought to be clearly understood, that this valuation for tax purposes does not represent any fair valuation of the property assessed, or even an approximation thereto, and in great part for the following reasons:

The taxation required to defray the expenditures of the State, as a whole, is apportioned to the several counties of the State, according to their property valuation; and hence there has been for years, and is now, a strife between the different boards of county officials, to run down the valuation of property to the very lowest practical figure, in order to divert as large a proportion of the State taxation as possible from themselves, and throw it upon their neighbors; and as some of the counties in the interior of the State have been so successful in doing this, as to actually reduce their valuation to *thirty, twenty*, and even a smaller proportion of the real and true value of the property assessed, a similar course of procedure has been forced upon the tax officials of New York, as a matter of necessity and local protection. And thus it has come about that, instead of a returned assessment valuation of \$769,306,410.00, for 1871-'2, representing the true market value of the real estate of the city and county of New York, in private ownership, it does not, in all probability, represent more than *forty per cent.* of such true value; an estimate which, instead of being a conjecture, is based on a large amount of evidence, recently collected by an expert for the Board of Commissioners for Revising the Laws of the State relative to Taxation.

The conclusion, therefore, seems warranted that the value of the real estate of the city of New York—public and private—which may be fairly regarded as an available security for the liquidation of the city and county debts, can

not be less than *two thousand million dollars*, on which the present debt, as above estimated, namely, \$100,000,000, would be equivalent to a mortgage of five per cent.

In this estimate it will be observed that no account has been taken of the valuation of the personal property owned or held by citizens of the city or county of New York. The amount of such property valued and assessed for the year 1871-'2 was \$306,947,223.00. The investigations of the State Commissioners lead, however to the conclusion, that this amount does not represent so much as *twenty* per cent. of the real value of this description of property concentrated in the city of New York; or, in other words, that the true value of the personal property of New York city cannot be estimated at less than *fifteen hundred millions*. Much of this property, it must be acknowledged, can never be reached for assessment purposes by any law which the ingenuity of man can devise; or which any civilized people would tolerate in respect to execution; but, whether returned for assessment or not, it nevertheless exists, and by increasing the ability to pay, operates to decrease the real burden of taxation imposed on other property of a more tangible and accessible character.

It is also to be noted, that if the new plan of assessing personal property recommended by the State Board of Commissioners, and which is to be presented this winter to the Legislature in the form of a definite code, is adopted, namely, doing away with the direct assessment of individuals for personal property, and substituting therefor, as an equivalent, the assessment of individuals on a valuation of three times the rent or rental value of the premises by them occupied, the amount or equivalent of such property returned for assessment and taxation will be very greatly increased; and the financial resources of the city be thereby correspondingly augmented.

INCREASE OF NEW YORK IN POPULATION AND WEALTH.

In estimating the prospective ability of the city of New York to sustain and liquidate indebtedness, the recent and prospective increase of the city in population and wealth constitutes an element of not a little importance. Thus, from 1820 to the year preceding the outbreak of the civil war, 1860, the average rate of increase for each successive period of five years was 28 per cent.; a continuous rate of growth probably without precedent in any country. During the period of the war, or from 1860 to 1865, the population of the city decreased $9\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. Since 1865, or during the five years from 1865 to 1870 inclusive, the gain in population was $26\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.; thus indicating that the average rate of increase experienced prior to 1860, was again likely to be approximated.

The increase in the valuation of the property of the city and county for assessment purposes, during the *ten* years from 1860 to 1870, was $81\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The present increase in the value of the real estate of the whole city for assessment purposes, is estimated by experts to average about *five* per cent. per annum.*

* The annual message of the Mayor tells us New York has an area of twenty-two square miles, and twenty-nine miles of water front; four hundred and sixty miles of streets, roads, and avenues, nineteen thousand street gaslights, and is penetrated underground by three hundred and forty miles of Croton water pipes, and two hundred and seventy-five miles of sewers; has a population of nearly a million, one thousand horse-railway cars, two hundred and sixty-seven omnibuses, about twelve thousand licensed vehicles, and as many more private vehicles; a city which, in ten months, paid the Federal Government one hundred and

RELATION OF TAXATION TO POPULATION AND PROPERTY.

It is also interesting to note the relation which taxation sustains to population and property in New York and some of the other leading cities of the country. The following data are derived from the most authentic sources:

CITY OF NEW YORK.—Population, 1870, 952,292; aggregate State, city, county, and school taxes, 1870, \$25,403,859.00; special taxes as estimated by officials, \$2,000,000.00; total taxation, \$27,403,859.00. Taxation *per capita*, \$29.08.

BOSTON.—Population, 1870, 250,525; aggregate of all taxation, 1870, \$9,050,420.00; taxation *per capita*, \$36.00.

CHICAGO.—Population, 1870, 298,977; total taxation, general and special, 1870, \$9,356,333.00; taxation *per capita*, \$30.00.

But as in the opinion of some experts the burdens of taxation in any community are properly represented by the relation which the aggregate of the annual levy of taxes sustains to the value of property assessed, attention is further asked to the following comparisons:

In Boston and Philadelphia real estate is returned for assessment at nearly its full marketable value. On this basis the relation of taxation to real estate valuation in these two cities would be as follows:

BOSTON real estate valuation, 1870, \$365,593,100.00; aggregate taxation, 1870, \$9,050,420.00; ratio of taxation to real property valuation, 1 to 40.

PHILADELPHIA real estate valuation, 1871, \$491,844,096.00; aggregate taxation, 1871, \$9,026,753.00; ratio of taxation to real property valuation, 1 to 54.

CINCINNATI real estate valuation as made anew for 1871, \$123,427,888.00; aggregate taxation, 1871, \$4,004,035.00; ratio of taxation to real property valuation, 1 to 30.

In the city of New York, on the other hand, on valuation of real estate acknowledged to be only about 40 per cent. of the real property, the ratio of aggregate taxation to real property valuation would have been in 1870, as 1 to 27; but if the valuation of the real estate of New York were advanced in proportion to the value taken for assessment purposes in Boston and Philadelphia, the ratio, instead of being as 1 to 27, would be much more favorable than in either of the cities above mentioned, or in the approximative ratio of at least 1 to 65.

It is therefore evident, that in comparison with the actual accumulated and tangible wealth of the city of New York, any liability, on account of indebtedness, which the city has as yet incurred, or is prospectively likely to incur, is very insignificant; and, with a reasonably honest, efficient, and economical government, such as public opinion and legislative authority, guided by recent experience, seems certain to compel, there can be no good reason why the interest-bearing debt obligations of the city should not be regarded as the most desirable of investments.

I am, yours, most respectfully,

DAVID A. WELLS.

Chairman Board of Commissioners for Revision of the Laws of the State of New York relating to the Assessment and Collection of Taxes.

To Hon. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, Governor of the State of New York.

twenty millions of dollars for duties on imports, and exported in the same time two hundred and fifty-one millions of dollars' worth of merchandise.—*Note by the Author.*

I have also received a letter, dated 29th December, 1871, from Hon. Andrew H. Green, Comptroller of the city of New York, in which he says:

"Immediate legislation is essential for the maintenance of the credit of the city by the meeting of the obligations maturing early in January, and to make provision for past claims which are due and which are of pressing importance. Equally important is prompt legislation to make provision for the maintenance of the Government of 1872.

"As the law appears now (Chap. 583, sec. 3, of 1871), no authority exists to make appropriations till May next, leaving the four first months of the year 1872 without any provision by which payments of necessary expenses for these months can be made."

I respectfully ask your immediate attention to those suggestions, and such early legislation with reference to them as may be necessary and proper.

JOHN T. HOFFMAN.

The first of these is the fact that the majority of the population of the United States is now living in urban areas. This is a result of the process of urbanization, which has been going on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The second is the fact that the majority of the population is now living in the middle class. This is a result of the process of social mobility, which has been going on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The third is the fact that the majority of the population is now living in the industrialized areas. This is a result of the process of industrialization, which has been going on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The fourth is the fact that the majority of the population is now living in the developed areas. This is a result of the process of development, which has been going on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The fifth is the fact that the majority of the population is now living in the modern areas. This is a result of the process of modernization, which has been going on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The sixth is the fact that the majority of the population is now living in the advanced areas. This is a result of the process of advancement, which has been going on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The seventh is the fact that the majority of the population is now living in the civilized areas. This is a result of the process of civilization, which has been going on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The eighth is the fact that the majority of the population is now living in the cultured areas. This is a result of the process of culture, which has been going on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The ninth is the fact that the majority of the population is now living in the refined areas. This is a result of the process of refinement, which has been going on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The tenth is the fact that the majority of the population is now living in the sophisticated areas. This is a result of the process of sophistication, which has been going on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The eleventh is the fact that the majority of the population is now living in the polished areas. This is a result of the process of polishing, which has been going on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The twelfth is the fact that the majority of the population is now living in the finished areas. This is a result of the process of finishing, which has been going on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The thirteenth is the fact that the majority of the population is now living in the completed areas. This is a result of the process of completion, which has been going on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The fourteenth is the fact that the majority of the population is now living in the perfected areas. This is a result of the process of perfection, which has been going on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The fifteenth is the fact that the majority of the population is now living in the perfected areas. This is a result of the process of perfection, which has been going on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The sixteenth is the fact that the majority of the population is now living in the perfected areas. This is a result of the process of perfection, which has been going on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The seventeenth is the fact that the majority of the population is now living in the perfected areas. This is a result of the process of perfection, which has been going on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The eighteenth is the fact that the majority of the population is now living in the perfected areas. This is a result of the process of perfection, which has been going on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The nineteenth is the fact that the majority of the population is now living in the perfected areas. This is a result of the process of perfection, which has been going on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The twentieth is the fact that the majority of the population is now living in the perfected areas. This is a result of the process of perfection, which has been going on since the beginning of the nineteenth century.

APPENDIX XV.

HISTORY OF THE SCHOOLS AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SOCIETY OF NEW YORK CITY.

ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT THE ORGANIZATION MEETING OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC
INSTRUCTION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, ON THE 29TH DAY OF
APRIL, 1871, BY THE PRESIDING OFFICER,

COMMISSIONER HOOPER C. VAN VORST.

* * The sentiment of the people of New York in favor of public instruction was early developed, and has been of constant, steady, and progressive growth. It has long since been fixed as a wise State policy. Even in its colonial condition some efforts were made in that direction; but when the State had come to be thoroughly organized, and its political status established, one of the first of its deliberate acts was a provision made for the organization of a system of instruction for the young. The importance, as a measure of State, of the establishment of a system of common-school education was apparent to the mind of Gov. George Clinton, who, as early as 1792, called attention of the Legislature to it in his annual message. Under his administration, and upon his recommendation, the first important and practical legislation was had looking to the foundation of a sound system of public instruction, and the sum of fifty thousand dollars a year—a large appropriation for those days—for five years was made for this object. In 1798, and before the expiration of the five years limited by the act, schools had been established in a majority of the then counties of the State, and about sixty thousand children during that year received public instruction. The legislation so happily inaugurated by Governor Clinton was further supported by subsequent executives and legislatures. Through the encouragement of Governors Jay and Tompkins in the early period of its history, and in later years of Governors Marcy, Seward, and others,

all legislation needed to firmly establish and liberally sustain the system was from time to time secured. It is impracticable now to follow the various stages in the history of this important subject. But its movement, although at times retarded, steadily progressed. Appropriations were from time to time made as its wants demanded, and funds were established for its support and complete administration. The amount of public money now appropriated in the various districts of the State for the support of free schools exceeds ten millions of dollars, and which sum is chiefly raised by direct taxation; and the number of children who received instruction during the past year is about nine hundred and seventy thousand. To such a magnitude has this system grown in the State, under its fostering care, in the space of about sixty years.

NEW YORK CITY SCHOOLS.

But I beg to call attention for a few moments to the history of the schools of this city, which has a peculiar interest to us. When that distinguished statesman, De Witt Clinton, was Mayor of the city of New York, a Free School Society was established in the city "for the education of such poor children as do not belong to or are not provided for by any religious society." This organization was formed in pursuance of an act of incorporation obtained from the Legislature, the Mayor himself being one of the incorporators, and the first President of the Society. The first school under this act of incorporation was opened in the year 1806. It depended chiefly for its support on the contributions of the benevolent. In the course of twenty years this excellent society had established in the city several well-organized schools, for the support of which they had received both municipal and State aid.

PUBLIC SCHOOL SOCIETY OF NEW YORK CITY.

In the year 1826 the various schools of this society, together with others which were in existence and not under its control, were united and directed under the management of a corporation called the "Public School Society." This organization gave a new impulse to the cause of popular education, and placed the whole system on a broader basis and infused new energy in all its operations. This society performed a most useful service to the State and to the cause of education during the period of its existence, and those who managed its affairs deserve high commendation for their disinterested public service. During the existence of this society not less than six hundred thousand youth of the city had been educated, and a large number of teachers prepared for service. The Board of Education was organized under an act of the Legislature, passed April 18th, 1842, which act extended to the city of New York the common-school system which prevailed in the other portions of the State, the schools under which were managed by officers elected by the people for the purpose. The Board of Education commenced its operations as soon as its measures could be perfected, and proceeded to erect school-houses and gather scholars for instruction. It was evident that the mission of the "Public School Society" was now over, that it was neither wise nor economical to have two systems of instruction proceeding at the same time, in the same field of operation; it would lead to conflict of opinion, and that both judicious action and usefulness would be impaired. This was soon felt by all the friends of education and good government. The necessity for unity of system, and

administration without distraction became manifest. In 1853, an act of the Legislature was passed authorizing the Public School Society to discontinue its organization, and to transfer its property, real and personal, to the city of New York, and a portion of its trustees to become Commissioners at large of the common schools of the city and members of the Board of Education; and its property, valued at over \$600,000.00, under the act, and by the action of the society itself, passed to the control of the Board of Education, upon whom the administration of the common-school system was thenceforth solely to depend. The influence of the consolidation of these two organizations into one harmonious body was beneficial to the salutary working of the system.

THE BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Since the year 1853 and up to the present time, the public schools of New York have been under the control of this organization, called the "Board of Education," the members of which have been elected by the people, and during that period of time our school system has attained to its present great prosperity and usefulness. Under its care and management has been perfected a wise and judicious system of instruction; it has progressed and expanded and adapted itself to the improvements which have taken place in science and arts and the methods of instruction. The cause of education or its administration has not been stationary. It has steadily grown and increased in its means of usefulness. It has appropriated to itself and endeavored to put in practice in the schools whatever experience has established to be beneficial in method or subjects of instruction. The results of its operations may this day be regarded with emotions of honorable pride by every citizen of New York. Under the means and influences which this Board has furnished, the great mass of the children and youth of the city have been educated. Contemplate for one moment the result of its work. It has established and well maintained thirty-four Primary Departments and Schools, in which were instructed this day at least sixty-five thousand children. It has established and well maintained eighty-nine Grammar Schools, male and female, in which were instructed this day over thirty-five thousand children.

The system of instruction of the males terminates in a full and complete course of collegiate education of four years in the College of New York, fitting and preparing them for any sphere of action or usefulness in life; and that of the females in a Normal College, which at this time contains over one thousand pupils who are themselves being educated and trained to become the teachers and guides of others. The number of schools wholly under the control of the Board of Education was 221, in addition to which there are some fifty corporate schools, partly under the charge of this Board, and who participate in the enjoyment of the public moneys. In the work of instruction are daily engaged 363 male teachers and 2,326 female teachers, making a total of 2,689 teachers. And the extent of the work accomplished by these earnest and painstaking toilers in this interesting department of the work of life, charged with so much responsibility for the present and future, to the individual and to the State, may be appreciated when it is considered that during the year past nearly 235,000 pupils have received instruction in the public schools, and that the average daily attendance in all the schools under the charge of the Board is over one hundred thousand.

FEMALE TEACHERS.

When it is considered that quite eight tenths of all the instruction of the youth of the city of New York, of both sexes, is performed by females, no one can well exaggerate the importance of the results to follow from the establishment of the Normal College for their education and discipline. This institution, completely and thoroughly organized during the past year, under its efficient President and able corps of teachers and instructors, may well command the interested attention and invoke the best wishes and prayers of all who are interested in successful and useful education. But the Board of Education, as the other organizations which have preceded it, has done its work. Under that name it belongs to the past. But from this rapid summary of what it has accomplished it must be conceded that its mission was a good one, and its work, if not perfect, was at least well done.

THE NEW DEPARTMENT.

The Department of Public Instruction, under the recent act of the Legislature amending the city charter, now commences its career under our direction as its Commissioners. I have deemed it proper to give this brief but yet very imperfect survey of the past history and accomplishment of the cause of education in New York, in order that we may be sensibly and properly impressed with the importance of the work in which we are engaged, and with the magnitude of the trust to which we have, by the appointment of the Mayor of New York, succeeded. The change at this time wrought is not in the system of the schools, nor in their administration, nor in the course of instruction. Nothing is extended or diminished. The recent act establishes a connection between the administration of public instruction and the municipal government. The Department of Public Instruction is in name and in fact a branch and department of the city government. If instruction is the business of the State, this is as it should be. Our duties as Commissioners are no more and no less than they were as members of the Board of Education.

But as Commissioners of Public Instruction our term of office has been extended, nor may the number of this body be increased or diminished, except by force of additional legislation or by death or resignation of the members. There is, then, before this Commission, a term of five years for disinterested and useful devotion to the cause of education, and the good of the State, and the happiness and welfare of its people. We have succeeded to the public schools when they are in successful operation, well officered with principals and teachers; and when they enjoy to a very large extent the confidence, and when they are earnestly regarded with the warm interest of the people. For we all know that these schools lie close to the heart of the people of this great metropolis.

We take these schools when our city has a population of one million of souls, and at a time when the proper education and discipline of our youth is justly regarded by every observing mind as the foundation of the continued prosperity and safety of the State and city. Those who have preceded us have so perfected and amplified the subjects and methods of instruction as to have brought the means of education and the acquisition of useful elementary knowledge, in an attractive form, to every house, and within the reach of every child in the city, of teachable years. They have erected for us large, commodious, and

well-ventilated school-houses, constructed with reference to the comfort, cheerfulness, and health of the teacher and the pupils. We have, at our hands, already supplied books and apparatus such as are suggested by the latest improvements in arts and science, and advanced methods of instruction. And we have to aid us an able and experienced Superintendent of the schools, with his assistants, upon whom is imposed the duty of visitation and examination, without which no system is complete, and a large band of skilled teachers and instructors eager for the discharge of their duties, and ready to co-operate with us and second our efforts to further extend the blessings and advantages of education. Both the State and city are liberal in the dispensation of their funds to us; no reasonable demand for money for the purpose of public instruction has ever been denied. For the coming year there is placed at our disposal two million seven hundred thousand dollars. These weighty considerations should give us a corresponding sense of our duties and responsibilities, and we should be prepared to bring to this work a disposition faithfully and as intelligently as we can, to discharge its duties, as we will justly be held to a great accountability. Ours is not a work of construction, but of improvement and extension.

* * * * *

Dr. Franklin, as early as 1752, advocated a scheme for the education of the youth in Pennsylvania, which embraced instruction in book-keeping, the rudiments of geometry, astronomy, geography, history, logic, and natural science.

In addition to the Latin and Greek, he advocated instruction in the French, German, and Spanish languages. To all of which was to be added good morals and good manners. Franklin thus early saw how useful to the American youth, business man, and citizen, would prove the knowledge of these modern tongues—the languages of people with whom, as he foresaw, we were to have extensive commercial intercourse, and who in a great degree would in time become a constituent part of our own people. * * *

Gentlemen, in the administration of this trust, as Commissioners of Public Instruction, let us be ever impressed with its importance and its responsibility. Let it be our office to devote our time and our attention to the duties of the place. Let it be ours to suggest and carry out any needed improvement and just advance in the cause of education and in methods and systems of instruction, and where errors exist let us correct them in all cases. Let us see to it that the youth of this generation be well instructed; let us place within their reach every means of knowledge which will make their lives more useful and happy, and enable them to become good citizens of the Republic, always remembering that no system of education is valuable which does not tend to improve the intellect, strengthen the physical and develop the moral nature.

No education is valuable which does not lead the pupil into habits of right thought, knowledge, and action, and which does not furnish him with the means to be of service to the State, by being a law-abiding, peaceful, intelligent, and virtuous citizen, whose highest aim in life is to be faithful in all his relations to his God, his country, and mankind.

APPENDIX XVI.

NEW YORK SOCIETY IN THE OLDEN TIME.

BY RT. REV. BISHOP KIP.*

To lament the days that are gone, and believe the past better than the present, is a tendency which has been remarked as far back as the days of Solomon. "Say not thou," says the wise king, "What is the cause that the former days were better than these? for thou dost not inquire wisely concerning this." However this may be, it is a propensity, which has always existed, to compare unfavorably the present with the distant past. The Golden Age of which poets sang was in "our fathers' day, and in the old time before them."

From this feeling the writer realizes that he is not free, and, in many respects, might be inclined to impute his estimate of the present to the waning light in which he sees it. When dealing, however, with facts with which he is well acquainted, he feels that he cannot be prejudiced; and in this way it is that he contrasts the society of the present with that which once existed in New York. From his distant home he looks back on the rush and hurry of life as it now exists in his native city; and, while he realizes its increased glitter and splendor, he feels that it has depreciated from the dignity and high tone which once characterized it.

Of the society of the olden time he can, of course, know but little by actual experience. His knowledge of it began when the old *regime* was just passing away. In the days of his childhood, the men of the Revolution were fast going down to the grave. Of these he knew some in their old age. His father's contemporaries, however, were somewhat younger, though brought up under the same influences. But when that generation departed, the spirit which had aided in forming their characters had gone also, never again to be felt. To many of these men he looked up as if they were superior beings; and, indeed, he has felt, in all his passage through life, that he has never seen the equals of those who then stood forward prominently in public affairs.

* This article originally appeared in *Putnam's Magazine* for September, 1870.

The earliest notice we have of colonial society is in Mrs. Grant's delightful *American Lady*. She was the daughter of a British officer who came over with troops during the old French war, and her reminiscences begin about 1760. Her residence was principally in Albany, with the Schuyler family. Still, she was brought in contact with the leading families of the colony, and, as she was in the habit of often visiting New York, she learned much of the state of things in that city. She writes thus of the old Dutch and colonial families of that day: "They bore about them the tokens of former affluence and respectability, such as family plate, portraits of their ancestors executed in a superior style, and great numbers of original paintings, some of which were much admired by acknowledged judges." In New York, of course, the highest degree of refinement was to be seen, and she says: "An expensive and elegant style of living began already to take place in New York, which was, from the residence of the Governor and Commander-in-Chief, become the seat of a little court."

Society, in that day, was very stationary. About 1633 the first Dutch settlers came out, and the country was much of it occupied by their large grants, many of which had attached to them manorial rights. They brought with them some of the social distinctions of the old country. In the cities of Holland, for a long time, there had been "great" and "small" burgher rights. In Amsterdam the "great burghers" monopolized all the offices, and were also exempt from attainer and confiscation of goods. The "small burghers" had the freedom of trade only. In 1657 this "great burgher" right was introduced into New Amsterdam by Governor Stuyvesant.

About fifty years after the arrival of the early Dutch settlers, they were followed by the Huguenots, driven abroad principally by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and including in their number members of some of the best families in France. Thus came the Jays, De Lanceys, Rapaljes, De Peysters, Pintards, &c. In 1688 the English took possession of the colony, and, from that time, English settlers increased. The colony became (as Paulding says) "a place in which to provide for younger sons." Still, this often brought out scions of distinguished families and the best blood in England.

Thus matters stood until the Revolution. The country was parceled out among great proprietors. We can trace them from the city of "New Amsterdam" to the northern part of the State. In what is now the thickly-populated city were the lands of the Stuyvesants, originally the *Bouerie* of the old Governor. Next above was the grant to the Kip family, called "Kip's Bay," made in 1638. In the center of the island were the possessions of the De Lanceys. Opposite, on Long Island, was the grant to the Laurence family. We cross over Harlem River and reach "Morrissanea," given to the Morris family. Beyond this, on the East River, was "De Lancey's Farm," another grant to that powerful family; while on the Hudson, to the west, was the lower Van Courtlandt manor, and the Phillipse manor. Above, at Peekskill, was the upper manor of the Van Courtlands. Then came the manor of Livingston, then the Beekmaas, then the manor of Kipsburgh, purchased by the Kip family from the Indians, in 1686, and made a royal grant by Governor Dongan, two years afterward. Still higher up was the Van Rensselaer manor, twenty-four miles by forty-eight; and, above that, the possessions of the Schuylers. Further west, on the Mohawk, were the broad lands of Sir William Johnson,

created a baronet for his services in the old French and Indian wars, who lived in a rude magnificence at Johnson Hall. All this was sacrificed by his son, Sir John, for the sake of loyalty, when he took up arms for the King and was driven into Canada. The title, however, is still held by his grandson, and stands recorded in the baronetage of England.

The very names of places, in some cases, show their history. Such, for instance, is that of Yonkers. The word "Junker" (pronounced *Younker*), in the languages of northern Europe, means the nobly-born—the gentleman. In West Chester, on the Hudson River, still stands the old manor-house of the Phillipse family. The writer remembers, in his early days, when visiting there, the large rooms and richly-ornamented ceilings, with quaint old formal gardens about the house. When, before the Revolution, Mr. Phillipse lived there, "lord of all he surveyed," he was always spoken of by his tenantry as "the Yonker"—the gentleman—*par excellence*. In fact, he was the only person of that social rank in that part of the country. In this way the town, which subsequently grew up about the old manor-house, took the name of Yonkers.

This was a state of things which existed in no other part of the continent. In new England there were scarcely any large landed proprietors. The country was divided up among small farmers; and, when the Revolution commenced, the people almost unanimously espoused its cause. The aristocratic element, which in New York rallied around the Crown, was here entirely wanting. The only exception to this which we can remember, was the case of the Gardiners, of Maine. Their wide lands were confiscated for their loyalty; but, on account of some informality, after the Revolution, they managed to recover their property, and are still seated as Gardiner.

At the South, where so much was said about their being "the descendants of the Cavaliers," there were no such feudal relations. The planters had no tenantry; they had slaves. Their system, therefore, was similar to that of the serfdom of Russia. With the colonial families of New York it was the English feudal system.

Hereditary landed property was, in that day, invested with the same dignity in New York which it has now in Europe; and, for more than a century, these families retained their possessions, and directed the infant colony. They formed a *coterie* of their own, and, generation after generation, married among themselves. Turn to the early records of New York, and you find all places of official dignity filled by a certain set of familiar names, many of which, since the Revolution have entirely disappeared. As we have remarked, they occupied a position similar to that of the English country gentleman, with his many tenants, and were everywhere looked up to with the same kind of respect which is now accorded to them. Their position was an acknowledged one, for social distinctions then were marked and undisputed. They were the persons who were placed in office in the Provincial Council and Legislature, and no one pretended to think it strange. "They," says a writer on that day, "were the gentry of the country, to whom the country, without a rebellious thought, took off its hat."

In that age the very dress plainly marked the distinctions in society. No one who saw a gentleman could mistake his social position. Those people of a century ago now look down upon us from their portraits, in costumes which, in our day, we see nowhere but on the stage. Velvet coats with gold lace, large

sleeves, and ruffles at the hands, wigs and embroidered vests, with the accompanying rapier, are significant of a class removed from the rush and bustle of life—the "*nati consumere fruges*"—whose occupation was not—to toil. No one, in that day, below their degree, assumed their dress; nor was the lady surpassed in costliness of attire by her servant. In fact, at that time there were gentlemen and ladies, and there were servants.

The manner in which these great landed estates were arranged fostered a feudal feeling. They were granted by Government to the proprietors on condition that, in a certain number of years, they settled so many tenants upon them. These settlers were generally Germans of the lower class, who had been brought over free. Not being able to pay their passage-money, the captain took them without charge, and then they were sold by him to the landed proprietors for a certain number of years, in accordance with the size of the family. The sum received remunerated him for the passage-money. They were called, in that day, *Redemptioners*; and, by the time their term of service—sometimes extending to seven years—had expired, they were acquainted with the ways of the country and its manner of farming, had acquired some knowledge of the language, and were prepared to set up for themselves. Thus both parties were benefited. The landed proprietor fulfilled his contract with the Government, and the Redemptioners were trained for becoming independent settlers.

From these Redemptioners many of the wealthy farming families now living in the Hudson River counties are descended. In an early day they purchased lands which enriched their children. The writer's father once told him of an incident which occurred in his grandfather's family. One of his German tenants, having served out his time of several years' duration, brought to his late owner a bag of gold which had come with him from the old country, and was sufficient to purchase a farm. "But," said his master, in surprise, "how comes it, Hans, with all this money, that you did not pay your passage, instead of serving as a Redemptioner so long?" "Oh," said the cautious emigrant from the Rhine, "I did not know English, and I should have been cheated. Now I know all about the country, and I can set up for myself."

These tenants, however, looked up with unbounded reverence to the landed proprietors who owned them, and it took much more than one generation to enable them to shake off this feeling, or begin to think of a social equality.

There was, in succeeding times, one curious result of this system in the confusion of family names. These German Redemptioners often had but one name. For instance, a man named Paulus was settled as a tenant on an estate. As his children grew up, they needed something to distinguish them. They were Paulus' Jan, and Paulus' Hendrick. This naturally changed to Jan Paulus and Hendrick Paulus, and thus Paulus became the family name.

This was well enough. But they frequently took the name of their proprietor. He was known as Morris' Paulus, and this, in the next generation, naturally changed to Paulus Morris, and his children assumed that as their family name. In this way there are many families in the State of New York bearing the names of the old landed proprietors, which have been thus derived.

Some years ago a literary gentleman, who was compiling facts with regard to the early history of the State, came to the writer very much puzzled. "Who," said he, "are these people? I find their names in Dutchess County, and yet, looking at Holgate's pedigree of that family, I see they cannot belong

to it. Where did they come from, and where do they belong?" The above account was a satisfactory solution of the mystery.

But to return to this system. It was carried out to an extent of which, in this day, most persons are ignorant. On the Van Rensselaer manor there were, at one time, several thousand tenants, and their gathering was like that of the Scottish clans. When a member of the family died, they came down to Albany to do honor at the funeral, and many were the hogsheads of good ale which were broached for them. They looked up to the "Patroon" with a reverence which was still lingering in the writer's early day, notwithstanding the inroads of democracy. And before the Revolution, this feeling was shared by the whole country. When it was announced in New York, a century ago, that the Patroon was coming down from Albany by land, the day he was expected to reach the city crowds turned out to see him enter in his coach and-four.

The reference to the funerals at the Rensselaer manor-house reminds us of a description of the burial of Philip Livingston, one of the proprietors of Livingston manor, in February, 1749, taken from a paper of that day. It will show something of the customs of the times. The services were performed both at his town-house in New York, and at the manor. "In the city, the lower rooms of most of the houses in Broad Street, where he resided, were thrown open to receive visitors. A pipe of wine was spiced for the occasion, and to each of the eight bearers, with a pair of gloves, mourning-ring, scarf, and handkerchief, a *monkey-spoon* was given." (This was so called from the figure of an ape or monkey, which was carved *in solido* at the extremity of the handle. It differed from a common spoon in having a circular and very shallow bowl.) "At the manor these ceremonies were all repeated, another pipe of wine was spiced, and, besides the same presents to the bearers, a pair of black gloves and a handkerchief were given to each of the tenants. The whole expense was said to amount to £500."

Now, all this was a state of things and a manner of social life totally unknown in New England. We have already mentioned that most of its inhabitants were small farmers, wringing their subsistence from the earth by hard labor. Here were literally no *servants*, but a perfect social equality existed in the rural districts. Their "helps" were the sons and daughters of neighboring farmers, poorer than themselves, who for a time took these situations, but considered themselves as good as their employers. The comparatively wealthy men were in their cities.

No two races of men could be more different than the New Yorkers of that day and the people of New England. There was a perfect contrast in all their habits of social life and ways of thinking. The Dutch disliked the *Yankees*, as they called them, most thoroughly. This feeling is shown, in a ludicrous way, through the whole of Irving's "Knickerbocker." "The Dutch and the Yankees," he says, "never got together without fighting."

There is a curious development of this prejudice in the following clause, which was inserted in the will of a member of a distinguished colonial family of New York, dated 1760. "It is my wish that my son, ———, may have the best education that is to be had in England or America; but my express will and directions are, that he never be sent, for that purpose, to the Connecticut colonies, lest he should imbibe, in his youth, that low craft and cunning so incidental to the people of that country, which is so interwoven in their consti-

tutions that all their acts cannot disguise it from the world, though many of them, under the sanctified garb of religion, have endeavored to impose themselves on the world as honest men."

Once in a year, generally, the gentry of New York went to the city to transact their business and make their purchases. There they mingled, for a time, in its gayeties, and were entertained at the court of the Governor. These dignitaries were generally men of high families in England. One of them, for instance—Lord Cornbury—was a blood-relative of the royal family. They copied the customs and imitated the etiquette enforced "at home," and the rejoicings and sorrowings, the thanksgivings and fasts, which were ordered at Whitehall, were repeated again on the banks of the Hudson. Some years ago the writer was looking over the records of the old Dutch Church in New York, when he found, carefully filed away, some of the proclamations for these services. One of them, giving notice of a thanksgiving-day, in the reign of William and Mary, for some victory in the Low Countries, puts the celebration off a fortnight, to give time for the news to reach Albany.

During the rest of the year these landlords resided among their tenantry, on their estates; and about many of their old country-houses were associations gathered, often coming down from the first settlements of the country, giving them an interest which can never invest the new residences of those whom later times elevated through wealth. Such was the Van Courtlandt manor-house, with its wainscoted rooms and its guest-chamber; the Rensselaer manor-house, where of old had been entertained Talleyrand and the exiled princes from Europe; the Schuyler house, so near the Saratoga battle-field, and marked by memories of that glorious event in the life of its owner—alas, that it should have passed away from its founder's family!; and the residence of the Livingstons, on the banks of the Hudson, of which Louis Philippe expressed such grateful recollection when, after his elevation to the throne, he met, in Paris, the son of his former host.

There was one more of these old places of which we would write, to preserve some memories which are now fast fading away, because it was within the bounds of our city, and was invested with so many historical associations connected with the Revolution. It is the house at Kip's Bay. Though many years have passed since it was swept away by the encroachments of the city, yet it exists among the recollections of the writer's earliest days, when it was still occupied by the family of its founder, and regarded as their first home on this continent. It was erected in 1655, by Jacobus Kip, Secretary of the Council, who received a grant of that part of the island. There is in the possession of the family a picture of it as it appeared at the time of the Revolution, when still surrounded by venerable oaks. It was a large double house, with three windows on one side of the door and two on the other, with one large wing. On the right hand of the hall was the dining-room, running from front to rear, with two windows looking out over the bay, and two over the country on the other side. This was the room which was afterwards invested with interest from its connection with Major Andre. In the rear of the house was a pear-tree, planted by the ladies of the family in 1700, which bore fruit until its destruction in 1851. In this house five generations of the family were born.

Then came the Revolution, and Sargent, in his "Life of Andre," thus gives

its history in those stirring times: "Where now in New York is the unalluring and crowded neighborhood of the Second Avenue and Thirty-fifth Street, stood in 1780 the ancient *Bowerie* or country-seat of Jacobus Kip. Built in 1655, of bricks brought from Holland, encompassed by pleasant trees, and in easy view of the sparkling waters of Kip's Bay, on the East River, the mansion remained, even to our own times, in possession of one of its founder's line. Here" (continues Sargent, incorporating the humorous recollections of Irving's "Knickerbocker") spread the same smiling meadows, whose appearance had so expanded the heart of Oloffe the Dreamer, in the fabulous ages of the colony; here still nodded the groves that had echoed back the thunder of Henry Kip's musketoon, when that mighty warrior left his name to the surrounding waves. When Washington was in the neighborhood, Kip's house had been his quarters; when Howe crossed from Long Island on Sunday, September 15th, 1776, he debarked at the rocky point hard by, and his skirmishers drove our people from their position behind the dwelling. Since then it had known many guests. Howe, Clinton, Knipphausen, Percy, were sheltered by its roof. The aged owner, with his wife and daughter, remained; but they had always an officer of distinction quartered with them; and if a part of the family were in arms for Congress, as is alleged, it is certain that others were active for the Crown. Samuel Kip, of Kipsburgh, led a cavalry troop of his own tenantry with great gallantry in De Lancey's regiment; and, despite severe wounds, survived long after the war, a heavy pecuniary sufferer by the cause which, with most of the landed gentry of New York, he had espoused."

In 1780, it was held by Colonel Williams, of the 80th royal regiment; and here, on the evening of the 19th of September, he gave a dinner to Sir Henry Clinton and his staff, as a parting compliment to Andre. The aged owner of the house was present; and, when the Revolution was over, he described the scene and the incidents of that dinner. At the table, Sir Henry Clinton announced the departure of Andre, next morning, on a secret and most important expedition, and added (what we have never seen mentioned in any other account, and showing what was to have been Andre's reward), "Plain John Andre will come back Sir John Andre."*

Andre—it was said by Mr. Kip—was evidently depressed, and took but little part in the merriment about him; and when, in his turn, it became necessary for him to sing, he gave the favorite military *chanson* attributed to Wolfe, who sang it on the eve of the battle of Quebec, in which he died:

"Why, soldiers, why,
Should we be melancholy, boys?
Why, soldiers, why,
Whose business 'tis to die?
For should the next campaign
Send us to Him who made us, boys,
We're free from pain:
But should we remain,
A bottle and kind landlady
Makes all well again."

* Mrs. General Riedesel was at this dinner-party, and was one of the guests, who bade Major Andre farewell.—See Stone's *Letters of Mrs. General Riedesel*, translated from the German. *Vide* also page 266 of this work, where Mrs. Riedesel speaks of her parting with Andre.

His biographer, after copying this account, adds: "How brilliant soever the company, how cheerful the repast, its memory must ever have been fraught with sadness to both host and guests. It was the last occasion of Andre's meeting his comrades in life. Four short days gone, the hands then clasped by friendship were fettered by hostile bonds; yet nine days more, and the darling of the army, the youthful hero of the hour, had dangled from a gibbet."

After the Revolution the place remained in its owner's possession, for his age had fortunately prevented him from taking any active part in the contest. And when Washington, in the hour of his triumph, returned to New York, he went out to visit again those who, in 1776, had been his involuntary hosts. Dr. Francis relates an interesting little incident which occurred at the visit: "On the old road towards Kingsbridge, on the eastern side of the island, was the well-known Kip's Farm, pre-eminently distinguished for its grateful fruits—the plum, the peach, the pear, and the apple—and for its choice culture of the *rosacea*. Here, the *elite* often repaired, and here our Washington, now invested with Presidential honors, made an excursion, and was presented with the *rosa gallica*, an exotic first introduced into this country in this garden—a fit emblem of that memorable union of France and the American colonies in the cause of Republican freedom."

In 1851 this old place was demolished. It had then stood two hundred and twelve years, and was the oldest house on the island. It was swallowed up by the growth of the mighty metropolis, and Thirty-fifth Street runs over the spot where once stood the old mansion. A short time after it was deserted, the writer made his last visit to it, while most of it was still standing, and the stone coat-of-arms over the hall-door was projecting from the half-demolished wall. As he stood in the old dining-room, there came back to him visions of the many noble and chivalrous men who, in the last two centuries, had feasted within its walls. But all these, like the place itself, now live only in the records of the past.

Such was life in those early days among the colonial families in the country and the city. It was simple and unostentatious, yet marked by an affluence of everything which could minister to comfort, and also a degree of elegance in the surroundings which created a feeling of true refinement. Society was easy and natural, without the struggle for precedence which now is so universal; for then every one's antecedents were known, and their positions were fixed. The intermarriages, which for more than a century were taking place between the landed families, bound them together, and promoted a harmony of feeling now not often seen. There were, in that day, such things as old associations, and men lived in the past, instead of, as in these times, looking only to the future.

The system of slavery, too, which prevailed, added to the ease of domestic life. Negro slaves, at an early day, had been introduced into the colony, and every family of standing possessed some. They were employed but little as field-laborers, but every household had a few who were domestic servants. Like Abraham's servants, they were all "born in the house." They shared the same religious instruction with the children of the family, and felt, in every respect, as if they were members of it. This mild form of slavery was like the system which existed under the tents of the patriarchs on the plains of

Mamre; and there certainly never were happier people than those "men-servants and maid-servants." They were seldom separated from their families, or sold. The latter was regarded as an extreme case for the incorrigible, and a punishment to which it was hardly ever necessary to resort.

The clansmen of Scotland could not take more pride in the prosperity of their chief's family than did these sable retainers in New Amsterdam. In domestic affairs they assumed a great freedom of speech, and, in fact, family affairs were discussed and settled as fully in the kitchen as in the parlor. The older servants, indeed, exercised as full control over the children of the family as did their parents. As each black child attained the age of six or seven years, it was formally presented to a son or daughter of the family, and was his or her particular attendant. This union continued often through life, and of stronger instances of fidelity we have never heard than were exhibited in some of these cases. Fidelity and affection, indeed, formed the bond between master and slave, to a degree which can never exist in this day with hired servants.*

This state of things, continued far down into the present century. In the writer's early day his father owned slaves for domestic servants, and he very well remembers, when visiting the place of a relative on the Hudson River, seeing the number of slaves about the house. At that time, however, the system was just going out; it had lost its interesting features, and the slaves, still remaining at those old places, had become a source of care and anxiety to their owners.

The charm of life in that day was its stability. There was no chance then for *parvenuism*—no stocks in which to dabble, no sudden fortunes made. There was but little commerce between the colony and the mother-country, and men who embarked in this business were contented to spend their lives in acquiring a competence. They never aspired to rival the landed families. With the latter, life flowed on from one generation to another in the same even way. They lived on their broad lands, and, when they died, the eldest son inherited the family residence, while the others were portioned off with farms belonging to the estate, but which it could well spare. On their carriages and their silver were their arms, which they had brought with them from Europe, by which every one knew them, which were used as matters of course, and were distinctions no one ventured to assume, unless entitled to them. Sometimes these were carved in stone and placed over their doors. This was the case with the Walton House, which we believe is still standing in Franklin Square (Pearl Street); and, as we have already mentioned, with the Kip's Bay House. The windows of the first Dutch church built in New York were filled with the arms of the families at whose expense it was erected.

In 1774, John Adams, on his way to attend the first Congress, stopped in New York. The honest Bostonian was very much struck with "the opulence and splendor of the city," and "the elegance of their mode of living," and in his Journal freely records his admiration. He speaks of "the elegant country-seats on the island;" the Broad Way, a fine street, very wide, and in a right line from one end to the other of the city;" "the magnificent new church then building which was to cost £20,000;" the Bowling Green, which he describes as "the beautiful ellipse of land railed in with solid iron, in the centre of

* In this connection see page 148.—*Author.*

which is a statue of His Majesty on horseback, very large, of solid lead, gilded with gold, on a pedestal of marble, very high." He records that "the streets of the town are vastly more regular and elegant than those of Boston, and the the houses are more grand, as well as neat."

The most amusing display is when he is invited to one of these country-seats, "near Hudson's River." He writes: "A more elegant breakfast I never saw: rich plate, a very large silver coffee-pot, a very large silver tea-pot, napkins of the very finest materials, toast and bread and butter in great perfection. After breakfast a plate of beautiful peaches, another of pears, and a muskmelon, were placed on the table."

It is evident, however, from his Journal, that he saw little of the best families. He was not in a situation to be feted by them, for they had no sympathy with the object of his journey. His principal entertainers were two lawyers—Scott and Smith—who had grown wealthy by their profession. Among all he mentions as extending civilities to him, the only persons belonging to the aristocracy of the city were some members of the Livingston family, who, even then, were putting themselves forward as leaders in the coming movement.

The Revolution broke up and swept away this social system. It ruined and drove off half the gentry of the province. The social history, indeed, of that event has never been written, and never will be. The conquerors wrote the story, and they were mostly "new men," who had as much love for those they dispossessed as the Puritans had for the Cavaliers of England, whom for a time they displaced. In a passage we have quoted from Sargent's "Life of Andre," the author says: "Most of the landed gentry of New York espoused the royal cause." And it was natural that it should be so, for most of them had for generations held office under the Crown. Their habits of life, too, had trained them to tastes which had no sympathy with the levelling doctrines inaugurated by the new movement. They accordingly rallied around the King's standard, and when it went down they went down with it, and in many cases their names were blotted out of the land.

We once read in an old number of *Blackwood's Magazine* some discussion about the impolitic course pursued by England toward her colonies. The remarks about the manner in which she lost her American colonies were peculiarly judicious. The writer says the Government should have formed an aristocracy in America, by giving titles, and thus gathering the great landed proprietors about the throne by new ties. These extensive landholders, previous to the Revolution, were as able to keep up the dignity of a title as were the English nobility of that day; and the effect which would have been produced, in the strengthening of their loyalty, is obvious. Had the head of the Livingston family been created Earl of Clermont and that of the Laurences been made Lord Newtown, would they have taken the side of the Revolutionists? We trow not. Instead of this, these powerful landed families were neglected, until some of them became embittered against the Government. No title, as a mark of royal favor, was given to a single American, except a baronetcy to Sir William Johnson.*

* The writer, usually so accurate, is mistaken in this. William Pepperell was also created a baronet for his part in the capture of Louisburg, in the same manner as Johnson was made one for his defeat of Dieskau, at the battle of Lake George, 1755.—*Author*.

Of the few landed families who took the popular side, perhaps the Livingstons and Schuylers occupied the leading position. The former had not been in favor with the Government, but were the political antagonists of the De Lanceys, by whom they were excluded from office. They therefore welcomed the new order of things.

Religion, in those days, had a good deal to do with the state of parties. As far back as 1745, the De Lanceys were the leaders of the Church of England party, and the Livingstons of the Dissenters. Religious bitterness was added, therefore, to that which was political. "In 1769, (says Stone, in his *Life of Sir William Johnson*," the contest was between the Church party and the Dissenters, the former being led by the De Lanceys, and the latter by the Livingstons. The Church, having the support of the mercantile and masonic interests, was triumphant; and John Cruger, James De Lancey, Jacob Walton, and James Jauncey, were elected by the city."

To the popular side, also, went the Jays, the Laurences, a portion of the Van Cortlandts who were divided, a part of the Morris family, which was also divided (while Lewis Morris was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, his brother, Staats Morris, was a general in the British army, and married the Dowager Duchess of Gordon), the Beekmans, and some few others. The "Patroon"—Mr. Van Rensselaer—was fortunately a minor, and therefore, not being obliged to take either side, saved his manor. Many of the prominent leaders were from new families, made by the Revolution. An upturning of this kind is the time for new men. Peculiar circumstances brought some forward who otherwise would have had no avenue for action opened before them. Alexander Hamilton, for example, had just arrived in New York, a young man from the West Indies, when the popular outbreak gave him, at a public meeting, an opportunity of exhibiting his peculiar talents.

The history of a single family will show the course of events. Probably the most powerful family in the State, before the Revolution, was that of the De Lanceys. Descended from the *ancien noblesse* of France, and holding large possessions, they had exerted a greater influence in the colony than any other family. James De Lancey administered the government of the colony for many years, till his death, in 1760. Most of the younger members of the family were in the British army previous to the Revolution. When that convulsion took place, they, of course, remained loyal, and became leaders on that side. Oliver De Lancey was a brigadier-general, and organized the celebrated corps styled "De Lancey's Battalion." His fine mansion at Bloomingdale was burned, in consequence of his adherence to the royal cause. They forfeited their broad lands, and their names appeared no more in the future history of the State. Some fled to England, where they held high offices, and their tombs are now to be seen in the choir of Beverley Cathedral. Sir William De Lancey died at Waterloo, on the staff of the Duke of Wellington. Just two months previous, he had been married to a daughter of Sir Benjamin Hall; and his friend, Sir Walter Scott thus alludes to him in his ode, *The Field of Waterloo*:

"De Lancey changed Love's bridal wreath
For laurels from the hand of death."

The son of General De Lancey, Oliver De Lancey, Jr., who succeeded Andre as Adjutant-General of the British army in America, rose through the

grade of Lieutenant-General to that of General, and died, at the beginning of this century, nearly at the head of the English army-list.

In 1847 the late Bishop of Western New York (William Heathcote De Lancey) told the writer a curious story of his recovery of some of their old family papers. In the spring of that year, being in New York, a package was handed to the servant at the door by an old gentleman, on opening which the Bishop found an anonymous letter directed to him. The writer stated that, being in England between thirty and forty years before, he found some papers relating to the De Lancey family among some waste paper in the house where he was staying; that he had preserved them, and, seeing by the newspapers that the Bishop was in the city, he now inclosed them to him. These the Bishop found to be: 1st, the commission of James De Lancey as Lieutenant-Governor of the colony; 2d, his commission as Chief-Justice of the colony; 3d, the freedom of the city of New York, voted to one of the family in 1730; 4th, a map of the lands owned by them in West Chester County and on New York island, prepared by the Bishop's grandfather. He advertised in the New York papers, requesting an interview with his unknown correspondent, but there was no response, and he heard no more from him.

Some branches of this family remained in New York, and we cannot point to a more striking evidence of the change wrought by the Revolution, than the fact that, since that event, the name of De Lancey, once so prominent, is never found in the records of the Government. It is in the Church only that it has acquired eminence, in the person of the former distinguished Bishop of Western New York.

This is the kind of story which might be told of many other loyalist families. Ruined by confiscations, they faded out of sight, and, being excluded from political office, they were forgotten, and their very names would sound strange in the ears of the present generation of New Yorkers. Many years ago, in the old country-house of a relative, the writer amused some days of a summer vacation by bringing down from the dust of a garret, where they had reposed for two generations, the letters of one of these refugees, who, at the beginning of the Revolution, was obliged to seek safety on board a British ship-of-war off New York harbor (from whence he writes his farewell, commending his wife and children to the care of the family), and then made his home in England, until, as he hoped, "these calamities be overpast." It was sad to read his speculations, as night after night he attended the debates in Parliament and watched the progress of the war, and, to the last, confidently trusted in the success of the royal arms, which alone could replace him in the position from which he had been driven into exile. When these hopes were ultimately crushed, a high appointment was offered him by Government, but he preferred to return to his own land to share the straitened circumstances of his family, and be buried with his fathers.

The withdrawal of so many of the gentry from the country, and the worldly ruin of so many more, was necessarily detrimental to its social refinement. It was taking away the high-toned dignity of the landed proprietors, and substituting in its place the restless aspirations of men who had to make their fortunes and position, and get forward in life. Society lost, therefore, much of its ease and gracefulness. Mrs. Grant, to whose work we have already alluded, who in her youth had seen New York society as far back as 1760, and lived to

know what it was after the peace, thus speaks of the change: "Mildness of manners, refinement of mind, and all the softer virtues that spring up in the cultivated paths of social life, nurtured by generous affections, were undoubtedly to be found in the unhappy loyalists. . . . Certainly, however necessary the ruling powers might find it to carry their system of exile into execution, it has occasioned to the country an irreparable privation. What the loss of the Huguenots was to commerce and manufactures in France, that of the loyalists was to religion, literature, and amenity in America. The silken threads were drawn out of the mixed web of society, which has ever since been comparatively coarse and homely." *

This is somewhat of an exaggeration. The tone of society was, indeed, impaired, but not lost. There were still enough of the old families remaining to give it dignity, at least for another generation. The community could not suddenly become democratic, or throw off all its old associations and habits of reverence. As a writer on that day says, people were "habituated to take off their hats to gentlemen who were got up regardless of expense, and who rode about in chariots drawn by four horses." It took a long while for the community to learn to act on the maxim that "all men are created equal." Not, indeed, until those were swept away who had lived in the days of the Revolution, did this downward tendency become very evident. Simultaneously, too, with their departure came a set of the *nouveaux riches*, which the growing facilities of New York for making commercial fortunes brought forward, and thus by degrees, was ushered in—the age of gaudy wealth.

The final blow, indeed, to this stately old society was given by the French Revolution. We know how every thing dignified in society was then swept away in the wild fury of democracy, but the present generation cannot conceive of the intense feeling which that event produced in our own country. France had been our old ally, England our old foe. We must side with the former in her struggles against tyranny. It became a political test. The Republicans adopted it, and insensibly there seemed to grow up the idea that refinement and courtesy in life were at variance with the true party-spirit. In this way democratic rudeness crept into social life, and took the place of the aristocratic element of former days. Gradually it went down into the lower strata of society, till all that reverence which once characterized it was gone.

The manners of an individual at last became an evidence of his political views. Goodrich, in his "Recollections," speaking on this very point, gives an amusing instance of it. A clergyman in Connecticut, who was noted for his wit, riding along one summer day, came to a brook, where he paused to let his horse drink. Just then a stranger rode into the stream from the opposite direction, and, as his horse began to drink also, the two men were brought face to face.

"How are you, priest?" said the stranger

"How are you, democrat?" inquired the parson.

"How do you know I am a democrat?" said one.

"How do you know I am a priest?" said the other.

"I know you to be a priest by your dress," said the stranger

"And I know you to be a democrat by your *address*," said the parson.

* "American Lady," p. 330.

Even the dress was made the exponent of party views, as much as it had been by the Cavaliers and Puritans of England. As republican principles gained ground, large wigs and powder, cocked hats, breeches and shoe-buckles, were replaced by short hair, pantaloons, and shoe-strings. It is said that the Marquis de Breze, master of ceremonies at Versailles, nearly died of fright at the first pair of shoes, divested of buckles, which he saw on the feet of a Revolutionary minister ascending the stairs to a royal *levee*. He rushed over to Dumouriez, then Minister of War. "He is actually entering," exclaimed the Marquis, "with ribbons in his shoes!" Dumouriez, himself one of the incendiaries of the Revolution, solemnly said, "*Tout est fini?*"—"The game is up; the monarchy is gone." And so it was. This was only one of the signs of the times. Buckles and kings were extinguished together.

Such being the feeling of the *sans culottes* in France, the favorers of Jacobinism in this country were not slow to imitate them. Jefferson eschewed breeches and wore pantaloons. He adopted leather strings in his shoes instead of buckles, and his admirers trumpeted it as a proof of democratic simplicity. Washington rode to the capital in a carriage drawn by four cream-colored horses, with servants in livery. All this his successor gave up, and even abolished the President's *leves*, the latter of which were afterward restored by Mrs. Madison. Thus the dress, which had for generations been the sign and symbol of a gentleman, gradually waned away, till society reached that charming state of equality in which it became impossible, by any outward costume, to distinguish masters from servants. John Jay says, in one of his letters, that with small clothes and buckles the high tone of society departed.

In the writer's early day this system of the past was just going out. Wigs and powder and queues, breeches, and buckles, still lingered among the older gentlemen—vestiges of an age which was vanishing away. But the high-toned feeling of the last century was still in the ascendant, and had not yet succumbed to the worship of mammon which characterizes this age. There was still in New York a reverence for the colonial families, and the prominent political men—like Duane, Clinton, Colden, Radcliff, Hoffman, and Livingston—were generally gentlemen both by birth and social standing. The time had not yet come when this was to be an objection to an individual in a political career. The leaders were men whose names were historical in the State, and they influenced society. The old families still formed an association among themselves, and intermarried one generation after another. Society was, therefore, very restricted. The writer remembers, in his childhood, when he went out with his father for his afternoon drive, he knew every carriage they met on the avenues.

The gentlemen of that day knew each other well, for they had grown up together, and their associations in the past were the same. Yet, what friendships for after-life did these associations form! How different this from the intimacy between Mr. Smith and Mr. Thompson, when they know nothing of each other's antecedents, have no subjects in common but the money-market, and never heard of each other until the last year, when some lucky speculation in stocks raised them from their "low estate," and enabled them to purchase houses "up-town," and set up their carriages.

There was, in that day, none of the show and glitter of modern times; but there was, with many of these families, particularly with those who had

retained their landed estates, and were still living in their old family-homes, an elegance which has never been rivaled in other parts of the country. In his early days, the writer has been much at the South; has stayed at Mount Vernon when it was yet held by the Washingtons; with Lord Fairfax's family at Ashgrove and Vanclose; with the Lees in Virginia; and with the aristocratic planters of South Carolina; but he has never elsewhere seen such elegance of living as was formerly exhibited by the old families of New York.

Gentlemen then were great diners-out. Their associations naturally led to this kind of intimacy, when almost the same set constantly met together. Giving dinners was then a science, and a gentleman took as much pride in the excellence of his wine-cellar as he did in his equipage or his library. This had its evils, it is true, and led to long sittings over the table, and an excess of conviviality which modern customs have fortunately corrected.

There was a punctiliousness, too, in their intercourse, even among the most intimate, which formed a strange contrast to the familiarity of modern society. Gentlemen were guarded in what they said to each other, for those were duelling-days, and a hasty speech had to be atoned for at Hoboken. Stories are still handed down of disputes at the dinner-table which led to hostile meetings, but which, in our day, would not have been remembered next morning. In an obituary sketch, one of this set published at his death, twenty-five years ago, when speaking of the high tone which then characterized society, the writer said: "Perhaps the liability, which then existed, of being held personally answerable for their words, false as the principle may have been, produced a courtesy not known in these days."

One thing is certain—that there was a high tone prevailing at that time, which is now nowhere seen. The community then looked up to the public men with a degree of reverence which has never been felt for those who succeeded them. They were the last of a race which does not now exist. With them died the stateliness of colonial times. Wealth came in and created a social distinction which took the place of family, and thus society became vulgarized.

Gulian C. Verplanck was, perhaps, the last prominent member of the generation which has gone. Where can we point to any one of those now living, like him, surrounded by the elevating associations of the past, distinguished in public life, and a ripe scholar in literature and theology? The old historical names of Jay and Duer and Hoffman, and a few more of colonial times, are still upheld among us by their sons, who are showing, in the third generation, the high talents of those who had gone before them; "but what are they among so many!"

"Rari nantes in gurgite vasto."

The influences of the past are fast vanishing away, and our children will look only to the shadowy future. The very rule by which we estimate individuals has been entirely altered. The inquiry once was, "Who is he?" Men now ask the question, "How much is he worth?" Have we gained by the change?

Is it strange that the writer answers in himself that description in Horace—

"Laudator acti temporis, me puero?"

As years gather round him, and the shadows deepen in his path, he instinctively turns more and more from the "living Present" to commune with the

"dead Past." Many, however, to whom he has referred in these pages, will be to most of his readers only names, while to him they are realities—living and breathing men; and, as he thinks of them, he believes there is no delusion in the conviction that, for eloquence and refinement, for all the graces which elevate and ennoble life, they have left no successors. The outward pressure is now too democratic. Most of the prominent men, also, of the present day, want the associations of the past.

As Edward IV. stood on the tower of Warwick Castle, and saw marching through the park below him the mighty host of retainers who, at the summons of the great Earl of Warwick, had gathered round him, and then thought how powerless, in comparison, were the new nobles with whom he had attempted to surround his throne, he is said to have muttered to himself, "After all, you cannot make a great baron out of a new lord!" And so we would say, "You cannot make out of the new millionaire what was exhibited by the gentlemen of our old colonial families!"

Commerce, indeed is fast taking the place of the true old chivalry with all its high associations. It is impossible, in this country, for St. Germain to hold its own against the Bourse. Money-getting is the great object of life in this practical age; and, every month, the words which Halleck wrote so many years ago are becoming more true:

"These are not romantic times
So beautiful in Spenser's rhymes,
So dazzling to the dreaming boy;
Ours are the days of fact, not fabrie,
Of Knights, but not of the Round Table,
Of Baillie Jarvis, not Rob Roy.
And noble name and cultured land,
Palace and park, and vassal band,
Are power'less to notes of hand
Of Rothschild or the Barings."

APPENDIX XVII.

VISIT OF GENERAL JACKSON TO THE CITY AS A GUEST OF TAMMANY, IN 1819.*

BY GENERAL PROSPER M. WETMORE.

ONE incident in the history of Tammany caused a good deal of feeling at the time of its occurrence, and has probably not been forgotten by all of those who have survived the last half century. Previous to the year 1820, the war between the Bucktails, or Regular Tammany organization, and the Clintonians, a party of more recent date, had begun to wax warm, and it was expected that at the then approaching national election an unusual degree of bitterness, perhaps of violence, would prevail in the contest. Every preparatory effort was therefore put in force to increase the strength of each of the contending parties.

In the early spring of 1819, an unexpected event awakened the enthusiasm of the people, of every class, to an unusual degree. It was the arrival in New York of General Andrew Jackson, then only known as the hero of New Orleans, and the successful commander who had closed the war with our British antagonists by the most brilliant victory of the whole contest. The name of Jackson had not at that time become a watchword of party, although there were a few sagacious politicians who regarded him as the "coming man." It will naturally be supposed that the active members of the two contending parties would be alive to the importance of securing so valuable an adherent, and a share of the prestige which attached to the person of a victorious general.

Jackson was received with great *clat* by the municipal authorities, and with well-deserved honors at the hands of the people. A military review was given him on the Battery, and the freedom of the city in a gold box, in the Park. He was afterward escorted by a regiment of cavalry to visit the venerable and distinguished General Ebenezer Stevens, then living, at an advanced age, on Long Island, near Hell Gate. Stevens had commanded the American

* Referred to on page 371.

artillery at the surrender of Burgoyne, at Saratoga, and Jackson had defeated Packenham and a greatly superior force at New Orleans. More than half a century had elapsed between the two great events, and the visit of the young and popular general was a graceful compliment paid to the warrior of another age.

During the stay of the General in the city, he accepted an invitation to dine at Tammany Hall. He was received with the greatest cordiality by the dominant party, who expected great results from so auspicious an event. The entertainment was superb, as the phrase was understood in that primitive day, when Stetson was not, and Delmonico undreamed of. Alas! how precarious are all human expectations! An explosion followed the opening of the intellectual exercises, which speedily put an end to the harmonious hilarity of the occasion. The circumstance which led to this disastrous result cannot be better stated than in the language of one of Halleck's notes to an allusion in *The Croaker*:

"A grand dinner was given to General Jackson, at Tammany Hall, on the 23d of February, 1819, in honor of his visit to this city. The hall was crowded, and the toast, 'To General Jackson; so long as the Mississippi rolls its waters to the ocean, so long may his great name and glorious deeds be remembered,' was replied to by the General, who proposed, 'De Witt Clinton, Governor of the great and patriotic State of New York,' to the utter confusion of the Bucktails, who looked upon Clinton as their bitterest foe. General Jackson, perfectly independent of all parties, had conceived a great admiration for Mr. Clinton, although he was at that time personally unacquainted with him, and hence the toast. The greatest confusion ensued, amid which the General left the room."

The subject was just fitted to call out the brilliant wits of the day. Drake, in the first number of *The Croaker*, has the following lines

"I'm sick of General Jackson's toast
Canals are naught to me;
Nor do I care who rules the roast,
Clinton or John Targee."

Halleck took his full share of the fun. One of his earliest contributions to the series of *The Croaker*, entitled, "The Freedom of the City in a Gold Box to a Great General," is in his happiest vein. One stanza from another of his productions on the same topic must suffice. It is entitled, "The Secret Mine Sprung at a Late Supper.":

"The songs were good, for Mead and Hawkins sang 'em,
The wine went round, 'twas laughter all and joke,
When crack! the General sprung a mine among 'em,
And beat a safe retreat amid the smoke.
As fall the sticks of rockets when we fire 'em,
So fell the Bucktails at that toast accurst,
Looking like Korah, Dathan, and Abiram,
When the firm earth beneath their footsteps burst."

It may well be supposed that such an opening for jocose allusion was not neglected, and the subject continued to be a sore one to the Bucktails for many a month after the public at large had forgotten the occurrence. Jackson's unpremeditated piece of strategy was not without its effect upon the future policy of parties; for in after years the Clintonians became the most earnest and influential members of the Jackson party.

INDEX.

- ABOLITIONIST RIOT**, 460.
Academy of Design, 588, 589, 609.
 ——— of Music, 511.
Act of Navigation closes ports in New England, Maryland, and Virginia, 58.
Act of Parliament empowering Government Officials to receive their salaries independent of the people, boldly denounced, 238.
Adams, John, first Vice-President of the United States, 194, 293, 303.
 ——— John Quincy, 232.
 ——— Samuel, his circular letter on taxation, 216.
Adoption of the Federal Constitution, procession in favor of, 282.
Ætna Insurance Company, 476.
Africa, 147.
African Chapel, 463.
African Slaves, 35.
Albany City, 14, 16, 44, 45, 109, 110, 126, 148, 641.
 ——— City, Six Nations in Council at, 130.
 ——— County of, 114, 211.
 ——— County of, divided into three portions, 238.
Albion, a ship, 156.
Alderton's Building, 90.
Alexander, James, a prominent lawyer of New York, 134.
Alexis, Russian Duke, reception of, 639.
Alleged Robbery of Vouchers from Comptroller's Office, 627.
Allegiance, Oath of, Traders compelled to reside within city limits, and take, 52.
Allerton, Isaac, one of the "May Flower" emigrants, 90.
Alliance with France, 288.
Alms-houses, 336.
Ambuscade, a ship, 321.
America, 14, 15.
America, Bank of, 603.
 ——— Bank of North, 603.
American Academy of Fine Arts founded under Charter, 587.
 ——— Academy of Fine Arts, Trumbull's connection with, 587.
 ——— Army of 15,000 men, encamped at Brooklyn, 247.
 ——— Civilization, 657.
 ——— Coast, 16.
 ——— Lawyers, eminent, 341.
 ——— Press, The, its History and Progress, 274-280.
 ——— Republic, new, a stranger's experience in the, 338.
Americans retreat across East River, to New York, 247.
Ames, Fisher, 292.
Amherst, General, 184, 443.
 ——— General, visit to New York, 184.
Amsterdam, 10, 14, 56, 63, 85.
 ——— Chamber, 18, 35, 43, 63.
 ——— Chamber, proclamation relating to settlement in and trade with New Netherland, 35.
 ——— Directors, 59, 148.
 ——— Fort, 21, 25, 26, 27, 36, 46, 49, 62.
 ——— Fort, surrender of, 62 *note*.
 ——— Port, changed to Fort James, 62.
 ——— Harbor of, 10.
 ——— New 22, 24, 26, 28, 29, 34, 35, 37, 39, 40, 50, 51, 52.
 ——— New, and Long Island Ferry, 40.
 ——— New, Population of, 53, 55, 59, 148.
 ——— New, Survey and Map made, 58.
 ——— New, Col. Nicholls anchors before, 61.
 ——— New, surrendered to the British, 61.
 ——— New, henceforth known as New York, 62.
 ——— New, Literature of, 77.
 ——— New, Sunday in, 77.
 ——— New, Mode of Worship in, 78.

- Ancient and Modern New York, comparison between, 639-658.
 André, Major, 154, 266.
 Andros, Sir Edmund, 68, 106, 109, 113.
 ——— Sir Edmund, appointed Governor, by Duke of York, 68, 106.
 Anglo-American manners and customs, 337-340.
 Anglo-Dutch War carried on by the Navies of the two powers, 66.
 Ann Street, 90.
 Anne, Queen, 124, 138, 155, 647.
 Annual grants of supplies only, insisted upon by the Assembly, 143.
 Anonymous communications to Government by Sons of Liberty, 204.
 Appeal to Citizens on the Tammany Frauds question, 624-627.
 Appleton & Co., 604.
 Apple-raising, 69.
 Aqueduct, Croton, at Sing Sing, 500, 501.
 Arcade in Maiden Lane, 419.
 Archangel, 14.
 Architecture of New York City, 601.
 Arding, Rev. Charles, 319.
 Armuyden, in Zealand, 95.
 Arnold, Benedict, 154.
 Arrival of two British regiments at Boston, 216.
 Arsenal, State, 457.
 Asia, a ship, 245.
 Aspinwall, William, 41.
 ——— William H., 376.
 Assembly, (Colonial) the people petition for a representative, and are refused, 106.
 ——— the first, meets in 1683, 113, 114.
 ——— the, provides for building a church, 121.
 ——— the, refuses to grant supplies and is dissolved, 143.
 ——— functions of the, annulled by the British Parliament, 213.
 ——— elected in 1768, is convened, 215.
 ——— remonstrates with Gov. Moore, 217.
 ——— dissolution of the, in 1769, 218.
 ——— meets; John Cruger speaker, 221.
 ——— petitions the Crown for redress of grievances, 245.
 ——— 123, 129, 136-146, 156-163, 172, 173, 174, 177, 179, 181, 183, 190, 191, 194, 196, 198, 202, 203-241.
 Astor House, 232, 308.
 Astor, John Jacob, 38.
 ——— John Jacob, Anecdote of, 413.
 Astor Library, 649.
 Astor Place Opera House, 521, 522.
 ——— Place Riot, 520.
 Assurance Companies, 603.
 Asylum for the Insane, seeking suitable site for, 233.
 Asylum for the Insane, Review of its subsequent career, 233.
 Atlantic Cable Celebration, 284.
 ——— Garden, 30, *note*.
 ——— and Pacific Oceans, 17.
 Attucks, a mulatto, 228.
 Auchmuty, Rev. Samuel, 167, 220.
 Auction Hotel, 483.
 BADLAM'S BATTERY, 246.
 Baker, Gardiner, 329.
 ——— Sir William, 207.
 Baldock, Captain R., 394.
 Ball in honor of the opening of the Erie Canal, 410.
 ——— in honor of the Queen's Birthday, 261.
 ——— Washington Inauguration, 309.
 Baltimore, 369, 388.
 Bancroft, George, 54, 161, 200, 248, 637.
 ——— George, delivers an oration upon President Lincoln, 657.
 Bank Street, 378.
 Bank of Commerce, 603.
 ——— of the Commonwealth, 603.
 ——— of the Republic, 603.
 ——— of America, 603.
 ——— of New York, 603.
 ——— Broadway, 603.
 ——— of North America, 603.
 ——— Union, 603.
 Banks suspend payment, 536.
 Bauman, Colonel, 236, 299, 305.
 Banyar, Goldsbro, 201, 205.
 Barclay, Rev. Mr., 166, 167.
 ——— Street, 251.
 ——— Street Ferry, 420.
 Barlow, General, 645.
 Barnard, Judge, 633.
 Barnum's Museum, 511.
 Barre, M. de La, Governor, 111.
 Barren Island (Beeren Eylant), 98.
 Bartlett, an artist, 636.
 Batterson, James G., designs the Worth Monument, 516.
 Battery, The, 19, 25, 30, 49, 78, 87, 396, 403, 475, 499, 613, 657.
 ——— Fort, The dilapidated condition of, 47.
 ——— Fort, guns removed from, by the Liberty Boys, 245.
 ——— Fort, required by Government, 47.
 ——— Fort, dismantled, 201.
 Battle, first on record between English and Dutch trading vessels near Fort Amsterdam, 27.
 ——— of Bunker Hill, 106, 244.
 ——— of Golden Hill, New York, 238.
 ——— of Long Island, 247.
 Baxter, George, 39.

- Baxter Street, 529.
 Bayard, Nicholas, 284, 339.
 Bayard's Hickory Grove, 339.
 ——— Spring, 339.
 Beaver Street, 30, 92, 115, 251, 419, 481, 509, 510.
 Becker's Tavern, 336.
 Bedloe's Island, 139.
 Beekman, Adrian, killed in a riot, 272, *note*.
 ——— Colonel, 170.
 ——— J. W., quotation from his address on behalf of the New York Hospital, 234, 235.
 ——— House, 271, 272, *note*.
 ——— Mrs., 272.
 ——— Slip, 246, 356.
 ——— Street, 165, 184, 323, 331, 590.
 ——— Swamp, 70, 91, *note*, 167.
 ——— William, 272, *note*.
 ——— William, Schepen of New Amsterdam, 148.
 Beelen Island, 45.
 Belgium, 19.
 Bell, Old Jail, 367, 510.
 Bellmont, Earl of, Governor of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, 121, 131.
 Belvidere Club, 340.
 Benckes, Admiral, 67.
 Bend, Rev. J. G., 168.
 Benson, Judge, 104, 453.
 Benton, Hon. Nathaniel, gives Canal Statistics, 411.
 Benson, Governor, 443.
 Berkeley, Sir William, Governor of Virginia, 106.
 Bermuda, Trade with, 30, 167.
 Bernard, Governor of Massachusetts, 192.
 Betste (bedstead), 75.
 Bevers Paatje (Beaver Lane), 62.
 Bible, discussion on the admission of, without comment, into the N. Y. Public Schools, 508, 509.
 ——— House, 132, 649.
 Bierstadt, an artist, 637.
 "Big Ditch," The, 410.
 Bills of Credit, or Paper Currency, issue of objected to by Assembly, 161.
 Billy the Fiddler, 423.
 Blackwell's Island, 83.
 Blauvelt, Captain, 43.
 Blazing Star Inn, stages stop at, 186, 187.
 Bleecker, Anthony, 318, 452.
 ——— Street, 643.
 ——— Street House, 468.
 Block, Adrien, 14, 15.
 Bloomingdale Road, 503, 505, 597.
 Board of Education, 507.
 Boes, Captain, 67.
 Bogardus, Domine Everardus, second Clergyman in New Netherland, 24, 32, 48.
 ——— Rev. W., 32, 57.
 Bolton's Tavern (Sam Francis's), 231, 298.
 Booth, Mary L., 182, 219.
 Booth's Theatre, 607, 609.
 Boston, 30, 41, 122, 125, 199, 214, 216, 223, 227, 230, 243, 244, 246, 274, 387.
 ——— old post road, 91, 93.
 Bouck, Mr., 408.
 Boudinot, Elias, 292.
 Boulevard, The New, 597.
 Bowerie Farm, 93.
 Bowerie Village, 103.
 Bowery, 12, 93, 403, 529.
 Bowling Green, 19, 27, 30, 37, 78, 92, 115, 125, 200, 246, 289, 318.
 Bradford, Governor William, of New Plymouth, 133.
 Bradford's Gazette, 274.
 Bradstreet & Son, 488.
 Brady, Rev. John, 170.
 Brant, Joseph (Thayendanegea), visits New York as the guest of Miss Burr, 415, 416.
 Brazil, 43, 46, 63, 103.
 Bread Riots, 536.
 Breastworks erected, 246.
 Breukelen, 88, 98.
 Breweries, Brick-kilns, and other Manufactories in New Netherland, 59.
 Brick Church, Old, 366, 590.
 Bridewell, Old, 336.
 ——— The, 336, 497.
 Bridge Street (Brugh Straat), 30, 88, 92, 125.
 British Army land on Long Island, at Gravesend, 247.
 ——— Fleet occupy the North and East Rivers, 247.
 ——— House of Commons refuse to receive representatives of New York Assembly, 222.
 ——— Museum, 87.
 ——— Officers and their wives indulging in gayety and frivolity, whilst American citizens are languishing in prison, 256.
 Broad Street, 13, 24, 30, 87, 88, 89, 92, 115, 124, 231, 246, 251, 300, 303, 318, 321, 336, 421, 477, 489, 481, 482, 509, 510.
 Broadway, 13, 19, 67, 89, 90, 92, 95, 102, 132, 152, 232, 321, 335, 340, 403, 421, 426, 462, 474, 499, 509, 603.
 ——— Bank, 603.

- Broadway, Past and Present, 605.
 — No. 1, Head-quarters of British Commanders during Revolutionary War, 152, 154.
 — its true history, 270.
 — East, 529.
 Brodhead, J. R., 54.
 Brooklyn, 474.
 — Ferry, 93, 356.
 — Heights, 246.
 — Navy Yard, 480, 482.
 Brooks, Erastus, 352.
 Broome, John, 287, 318, 322, 336.
 Broome Street, 403.
 Brown, George W., Auction Hotel of, 483.
 — Major, 262, 263.
 Brown, a sculptor, 637.
 Brunswick Troops, 256.
 Bryant, William Cullen, 637, 657.
 Buck, Gordon, 234.
 Buffalo, 186, 390.
 Buildings, Improvements in Streets and, in New York, 37.
 — average height of, in 1677, 576.
 Bullock Street, 284.
 Bunker, Captain E. S., 393.
 Bunker Hill, Battle of, 106, 244.
 Burgher government established in Manhattan, 53.
 Burgomasters, Salaries of, 40.
 Burgoyne, General, 256.
 Burke, Edmund, 246.
 Burling Slip, 226, 246.
 Burlington, N. J., Stages run to, 186.
 Burnet, Gov. William, succeeds Gov. Hunter, as Governor of New York, 126, 127.
 — Gov. William, anecdotes of, 129, 130.
 — resigns Governorship of New York, and accepts that of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, 129.
 Burnet's policy, beneficial effects of, 128.
 Burning of the Government House, 257.
 Burns' Coffee-house, 207, 290.
 Burr, Aaron, 341, 342, 345, 415, 443.
 — obtains the acquittal of Levy Weeks charged with the murder of Miss Sands, 343.
 Burr, Theodosia, entertains Brant, 415.
 Burroughs, Mr., 126.
 Bushwick, or Boswyck, 148.
 Bute, Lord, 197, 200.
 Butman, Jeremiah, 372.
 Byron, Lord, 412.
 CABOT, 24.
 Cadaraqui, Fort at, 109, 112.
 "Cadmus," the ship in which Lafayette visited America, 379, 383.
 Cadwallader, Col., defends Harlem Plains, 250.
 Caen, Normandy, 152.
 Caesar, the Nigger, 84, 85.
 Caffiere, Admiral, 113.
 Calvin, 137.
 Calvinists, 22.
 Cambridge University, 152.
 Canada, 15, 16, 21.
 — Indians invade, 112.
 Canal Street, 13, 232, 335, 403.
 — Street, extension, 529.
 —, Erie, The, projected by Clinton, 348.
 —, Erie, The, rejoicings at its completion, 379, 389-401.
 Carleton, General, and Lieutenant-Governor Sir Guy Carleton, 154, 214.
 Caribbean Islands, 53.
 Carroll, Mr., 166.
 Carroll of Carrollton, 489.
 Carter, Herman G., 488.
 Carteret, Philip, Governor of New Jersey, 103, *note*.
 Castle Garden, 384.
 — William, 384.
 Catherine Slip, 356.
 — Street, 91, 465.
 Catholics, 22.
 Catskill, 352.
 Caughnawaga, the town of the Caughnawagas or Praying Indians, 127.
 Cayenguinago, 120.
 Cayugas, 108.
 Cedar Street, 422, 603.
 Celestial Empire, 14.
 Central Park, 501, 503, 529.
 — Park Commission, 614.
 — Park, History and Description of, 529-531.
 — Park, Prof. S. F. B. Morse's Statue in, 639.
 — Park, Receiving Reservoir, 506.
 Centre Street, 246, 337, 457, 463, 465, 529.
 Century Club, 359.
 Chamber of Commerce, 624.
 Chambers, John, 135, 167, 194.
 — Street, 132, 529.
 Chambly, Fort, 374.
 Champlain, Lake, 132, 593.
 Chancellor Livingston, a steam vessel, 383, 396.
 Charity School, 252.
 Charles, Robert, Colonial Agent, 221.
 Charles I., 27, 146.
 Charleston, S. C., 247.
 Charlton Street, 13, 339.
 Charlotte County, 238.
 Charter, Donnan's, 116.

- Charter of Liberties, The, 114.
 — of Columb a (King's) College, op-
 position of citizens to its being
 granted, 177-179.
 — first, of New Netherland, 40.
 — of Privileges and Exemptions,
 21.
 — Montgomery's, 647.
 — of New York City. The old one
 annulled, 613.
 — of New York City. The new one
 promulgated and passed, 614.
 — of New York City—its provisions
 as compared with the old, 614,
note.
 — of New York City—its special
 peculiarities, 615.
 — of New York City—the various
 Charters and their provisions,
 615.
 Chatham, Earl of, 200.
 — Insurance Company, 476.
 — Square, 465.
 — Street, 91, 93, 165, 232, 323, 337,
 467.
 — Street, "Tea Water Pump" in,
 500, 573.
 Chauncey Vibbard, a steamboat, 352, *note*,
 353.
 Cheatham, James, 488.
 Cherry Street, 13, 472.
 Cheshire, 156.
 Chicago, Great Fire in, 616-618.
 — Great Fire in, New York City
 aids sufferers by, 616.
 China, 187.
 Choate, Joseph H., 621.
 Christ-Kinkle Day, 69-71.
 Christiaensen, Hendrick, 14, 15, 16.
 Christian Association, Young Men's, 638.
 Church, an artist, 637.
 Churches and Ministers in New York
 City, 641, 642.
 Church Street, extension from Fulton to
 Morris, 599, 600.
 Citizens refuse to support the Troops,
 213.
 — consternation of, at the ravages of
 the Yellow Fever, 332.
 City, The, divided into six Wards,
 115.
 — Council, 57.
 — Gate, 89.
 — Boundary established, 131.
 — Hall, or Stadt-Huys, 89.
 — Hall, 77, 124, 301, 336, 345, 375,
 385, 403, 421, 462, 465, 480,
 483.
 — Hall Slip, 186.
 — Hall Park, 91, 224, 498.
 — Hall, present, built, 345.
 City Hall, public meeting of Citizens
 called at, for fire of 1835, 483-
 486.
 — Hotel, The, 211, 308, *note*, 375,
 385, 404, 483.
 — Seal, New, 116.
 — Wall, The, 92.
 Clarence, Duke of, saved from drowning
 by Gulian Verplanck, 271.
 Claremont, 504.
 Clarendon, Edward Hyde, Earl of, Lord
 Chancellor of England, 133.
 Clark, McDonald, the Mad Poet, 490.
 — William, 135.
 — Willis Gaylord, 489.
 Clarke, George, Secretary of Colony, 133.
 — George, appointed Licut.-Gov.,
 138, 142.
 — George, Lieut.-Gov., supported in
 his acts by the popular voice,
 138.
 — George, Lieut.-Gov., his first
 speech in the General Assembly,
 138.
 — George, Lieut.-Gov., his action on
 the Indian affairs of the Colony,
 139.
 — George, ex-Licut.-Gov., his career,
 155, *note*, and 156.
 — George Hyde, son of Lieut.-Gov.,
 156.
 Claus, Santa, 69-71.
 Clermont, Fulton's First Steamboat, 351,
 352.
 Cliff Street, 89, 90, 211, 226.
 Clinton, Admiral George, Governor of
 New York, 155, 233.
 — Admiral George, his Address to
 the Assembly, 157.
 — Admiral George, asserts the Royal
 prerogative, 162.
 — Admiral George, resigns, 164.
 — De Witt, Mayor of New York,
 343.
 — De Witt, appointed Mayor a
 second time, 358.
 — De Witt, 408, 488.
 — De Witt, superseded by Judge
 Radcliffe, 358.
 — De Witt, his character and con-
 duct, public and private, 358,
 359.
 — De Witt, his firmness and patriot-
 ism as Mayor, 368.
 — De Witt, Governor, opens the
 Erie Canal, 391, 398.
 Clinton, Sir Henry, 154, 247, 258, 265.
 — Hall, 649.
 — Mrs. George, 308.
 Clover-Watie, The, or Pasture-field, 83.
 Cod, Cape, 51.

- Coddington, J. J., 518.
 Coenties Alley, 481.
 ——— Battery, 246.
 ——— Lane, 475.
 ——— Slip, 19, 27, 186, 474, 475, 480, 481, 497.
 Coffee-House Slip, 318, 331, 344, 480, 481.
 ——— The Breast-works erected at, 246.
 ——— Burns', Sons of Liberty kindle a bon-fire before, 207, 590.
 Colden, Dr. Cadwallader, 109, 120, 130, 135, *note*, 163, 183, 190, 191, 194, 200, 225.
 ——— Dr. Cadwallader, Governor of New York, 190.
 ——— Dr. Cadwallader, hung in effigy, 200.
 ——— Dr. Cadwallader, ex-Governor, appointed a third time Governor of New York, 222.
 ——— Cadwallader, D., at Erie Canal celebration, 398.
 ——— Alexander, 200.
 Cold Spring, 372.
 Colgate, C. C., 608.
 College Controversy, 179.
 Collect (Kolek), site of the Tombs, 12, 83, 91, 271.
 Colonial Congress, 281.
 ——— Currency, authorization of a, by the Government, 230.
 Colony sides with England against France, 159.
 ——— state of, described by John Pintard, 255.
 ——— described by Dunlop, 255.
 Columbian Order, or Tammany Society, established, 328.
 Columbia (King's) College, charter granted, 177.
 ——— people's opposition to grant of charter, 177-179.
 Colve, Capt., 67.
 ——— Capt., made Governor of New Netherlands, 67.
 Commerce at a stand-still, 554.
 Commission appointed by Gov. Stuyvesant to confer with Capt. Scott, 61.
 Committee of Seventy, 620-634.
 "Commons," The, 91.
 Common Council, 201, 332, 394, 459, 647.
 Comparison between England and America, 654.
 Coney Island, 59, 64, 97.
 ——— Island, Dirck De Wolf commences to make salt at, 59.
 Conflagration of 1804, 344.
 ——— terrible, of 1811, 366, 367, *note*.
 ——— of 1835, 471-486.
 Conflagration of 1835, accounts of tene-
 ments consumed, 481, 482.
 ——— of 1845, 509, 510.
 Congress, General, held at New York, 198.
 ——— of the Indians and Six Nations at Albany, 127.
 Conijnen Eylant (Rabbit Island), 97.
 Connecticut, 60, 197, 371.
 ——— Shore, 372.
 Connolly, Richard B., 620, 627-630.
 ——— Richard B., goes to jail, 633.
 Constable's House, 287.
 Constantinople, 512.
 Continental Congress, 243, 373.
 ——— Army, 374.
 Contingent furnished by New York City to defend the Union, 648.
 Conway, Minister, 209.
 Cook, Ransom, 350.
 Cooper, J. Fenimore, himself and Percival dine together at the City Hotel, 489.
 Cooper Institute, 413, 620, 624 649.
 Corlear's Hook, Woods, 339.
 Cornbury, Lord, appointed Governor of New York, his character and administration, 122.
 ——— Lord, superseded by Lovelace as Governor of New York, 123.
 ——— detestation of, 123.
 Cornwallis, Lord, 258.
 Corporate Seal of New Amsterdam and New York, 49.
 Corporation Library, 131.
 Corry, Wm., MS. letter to Sir Wm. Johnson, 181.
 Cortelyou, Jacques, makes a Survey and Map of New Amsterdam, 58.
 Cortlandt Street, 107, 254, *note*, 375, 495.
 Cosby, Gov. William, 133, 138, 162.
 Costello, Michael, 632.
 Cotton, John, clerk to General Congress, 198.
 Council held at Fort George, 135, *note*.
 ——— of Appointment, 344, *note*, 647.
 Courcelles, The Chevalier de, Governor of Canada, 109.
 Cox, Rev. Dr., 463.
 ——— Jameson, Register, 510.
 Cozine, John, 287, 341.
 Cranberry, N. J., stages run to, 186.
 Credit, Bills of, or Paper Currency, issue of objected to by Assembly, 161.
 Creek Indians visit New York as the guests of Tammany, 328.
 Criminal Trial, Remarkable; sensational denouement, 342-344.
 Crisis, Great Financial, of 1857, 535-537.
 Croaker, The, a poem, 490.
 Crollius, Clarkson, 399.

- Crosby, Philip, 172.
 ——— Street, 467.
 "Crossing the Ferry" at New York, 354.
 Croton Aqueduct, 500, 507.
 ——— Aqueduct at Sing Sing, 501.
 ——— Dam, 506.
 ——— River, 500.
 Crown, prerogative of, in appointment of Colonial Treasurer, resisted, and office declared elective, 146.
 Crown Point, 132, 199, 214.
 Cruger, John, Mayor of New York, 182, 219.
 ——— John, chosen Speaker of the new Assembly, 221.
 ——— Nicholas, 284.
 Crummashe Hill, 93.
 Crystal Palace, 511.
 ——— Palace, World's Fair at, 528.
 Custis, G. W. P., 232.
 Custom-Duty of 30 per cent. exacted, 53.
 Custom House, 421.
 Customs at Funerals, 81.
 Cyane, sloop of war, 396.
 DALY, Chief-Justice, C. P., 270, 359, 483, 528.
 "Dam," The, 501.
 Damen, Jan Jansen, 33.
 ——— Jan Jansen, appointed Kirke-Meester, 33.
 Dana, Chief Justice, 436.
 Davis, Robert, 376.
 Dead-Rabbit Riot, 534.
 Deaf and Dumb Asylum, 638.
 Dean, Captain, 187.
 Dean Richmond, a steamboat, 641.
 Debtors' Prison, History of the old, 469.
 ——— Prison (Provost and Hall of Records), 367, 468.
 Declaratory Act, 208, 211.
 ——— Act distasteful to the people, 212.
 Declaration of Independence, 246, 288.
 Delafield, John, 318.
 Delaware, 26, 41, 55.
 ——— Expedition from Boston to the, 41.
 ——— Second Expedition, 41, 42.
 ——— Trade, Interference of New England Adventurers with, 42.
 Delft, 59.
 Delmonico's, 231.
 Denmark, 42.
 Denonville, Marquis, Governor of Canada, 112.
 Design, Academy of 588, 589, 609.
 Dey Street, 165, 463, 495, 636, 637.
 De La Barre, Governor of Canada, 111.
 De Brehan, La M., 309.
 De Forest, Henry, 275.
 De Lancey, Bishop, 182.
 ——— Chief Justice and Gov., James, 139, 147, 152, 171, 177, 182, 190.
 ——— Chief Justice, James, his address on behalf of Council, in reply to the Governor, 157.
 ——— Chief Justice, James, assumes the government, 173.
 ——— Chief Justice, James, again appointed Governor, 179.
 ——— Chief Justice, James, Death of, 182.
 ——— Chief Justice, James, Review of his life, 182.
 ——— Mr. James, 224.
 ——— Oliver, 181.
 ——— Stephen, 152.
 De Landais, Pierre, 431, 434.
 ——— His tombstone at St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York, 434.
 De Meyer, Nicholas, 106.
 De Milt, Anthony, appointed Schout, 68.
 De Peyster, Abraham, 148.
 De Ruyter, Admiral, Michael, 54.
 De Viellecour, Mr., 440, 454.
 De Vries, Captain, 26, 28 33.
 De Wint, J. P., 326.
 De Witt, Capt. Cornelis, 14.
 ——— Rev. Dr. Thomas, 655.
 Dickens, Charles, Dinner given to, by the Press, 638.
 Digby, Admiral, 271.
 Direksen, Adrian, 32.
 ——— Cornelis, 29, 90.
 Directors of West India Company, 22.
 Discovery of Fish in United States rivers and lakes by Le Moyne; its value to the State as a source of revenue, 55.
 Discussion on admission of the Bible without comment into Public Schools, 508, 509, and *note*.
 ——— on the right of the British Parliament to tax America, 216.
 Disosway, Gabriel P., narrative of fire of 1835, 471-482.
 Ditches cut across the island from North to East rivers, 246.
 Doctor's Mob, 234-236.
 Dodge, William E., 637.
 Domestic arrangements of early Dutch settlers, 71-86.
 Dominick, Francis, 170.
 Dongan, Governor, 87, 109, 110, 112, 113, 141, 181.
 ——— Governor, his charter, 116.
 ——— Governor, his administration, 113.
 "Don Jon," or Old Debtors' Prison, changed into Hall of Records, 468.

- Dordrecht, 17.
 Downing, the Oyster King, 477.
 Draft for Soldiers to serve in war of 1863-5, 539.
 "Draft Riot," The, in 1863, 461, 539-562.
 Draper, Simeon, 532.
 Drawing School Association, 587.
 Dresses, description of those worn at Washington Inauguration Ball, 310-314.
 Duane, James, Mayor of the city, 308, 329.
 — Mrs., 309.
 — Street, 93, 232, 335, 529.
 Dudley, Joseph, 119.
 Duelling-ground, Weehawken, 348.
 Duer, William A., 232, 350.
 — William 341.
 — Lady Kitty, 309.
 Duke's County, 114.
 Duncan Sherman and Co.'s Banking House, 603.
 Dunlap, W., 134, 151, 241, 287.
 Dunlop, an artist, 301, 416, 422.
 Dunmore, John, Earl of, Governor of New York, 230, 232, 237.
 — John, Earl of, transferred to Virginia; Sir William Tryon his successor, 231.
 Duryea, Colonel, 525.
 Dutchess County, 114.
 — County, trouble in, 210.
 — County, Rioters visit Albany County, and threaten to attack New York, 211.
 Dutch Ancestors, 75.
 — Church at the Battery, 78.
 — Church, Middle (the present Post Office), 254, 255, 516.
 — Church, North, (previously a prison), in William Street, 254, 593.
 — Reformed Church, 77, 93, 125.
 — Company (East India), abolish their monopoly, and open the trade, 50.
 — Company, prohibition of employes of, to trade with Indians, 33.
 — Customs, 72.
 — East India Company, 10.
 — Emigrants, 85.
 — Government investigate the affairs of the Company, 46.
 — Matrons, 75.
 — Titles, list of ancient, 86.
 — Traders, 17.
 — The, finally dispossessed of New Netherland, 68.
 — West India Company, 17, 22, 50, 58, 147.
 Duties on Imports and Exports, 63, 64.
 EARLY Hours observed by Washington's Family, 315-317,
 East Broadway, 529.
 East Indies, 10, 14.
 — India Company, their projects in relation to Tea Trade, 238.
 — India Company, agents forced to resign, 239.
 — Jersey, 103.
 — River, 12, 21, 24, 29, 52, 89, 90, 91, 93, 98, 102, 272, 344, 375, 426, 473, 474, 480.
 — River, Trade on, 52.
 Eaton, Gov., of New Haven, protests against Gov. Stuyvesant, 51.
 Eddy, Thomas, 408.
 Edgar, Mrs., 287, 309.
 Edmond, Judge, J. W., 528.
 Education, Board of, 507.
 — State of, in New York, 649.
 Edwards, Jonathan, pastor of Wall Street Church, 420, 655.
 Elkins, Jacob, agent at Fort Nassau, 16, 27, 28.
 Eendragt, a ship, 23, 24.
 Egremont, Earl of, 192.
 Election, contested, between Adolphe Philippe and Gerrit Van Horne, 140.
 — of Assemblymen, contest between Church party and Dissenters, 219.
 — Riots, 10th April, 1834, 456-469.
 Elevated Railroad, 612.
 Elizabethtown (Elizabeth), 103, 296, 297, 307.
 Ellicott, Mr., 408.
 Elliott, Henry H., 466, *note*.
 Elliott, an artist, 637.
 Elm Street, 457.
 Emanuel College, 105.
 Embury, Philip, 211.
 Emigration Statistics, 651.
 Eminent Personages in New York, Reminiscences of, 422-439.
 — Visitors at "Shakspeare Tavern," 488-490.
 Emmet, T. Addis, 368.
 — T. Addis, Dr., President of State Woman's Hospital, 537.
 Empress, a ship, 187.
 England, 24, 49, 53, 68.
 English Language officially recognized in New Amsterdam, 39.
 — design to monopolize the fur trade, 108-110.
 Enhanced value of property in New York, 605.
 Episcopalian party in New York, 174.
 Equitable Life Insurance Company, 603.
 Erie Canal, 642.

- Erie Canal, The, projected by De Witt Clinton, 348.
- Canal, Rejoicings in celebration of completion of, 379, 389-401.
- Canal, Popularity of the project, 389.
- Canal, First Canal-boat proceeds along entire line from Buffalo to Sandy Hook, 390.
- Canal, Celebration in New York City, 391-411.
- Canal, Steam and Sailing Fleet, Pageant, Ball, and Banquet, 395-411.
- Canal, British Men-of-War salute American Fleet, 400.
- Canal, Land Procession, 401.
- Canal, Civic Procession, 402.
- Lake, 109.
- Esopus (Kingston), 277.
- Evarts, William M., is associated with Charles O'Connor in prosecuting the Ring, 629.
- Everett, Edward, his connection with the Greek Rebellion, 412.
- Evertsen, Admiral, 67.
- Exchange, Merchants', in Wall Street, completed, 419.
- Place (Garden Street), 88, 124, 419, 474, 509, 510.
- Breast-works erected at the, 246.
- Street, 419.
- Excise Duty imposed on wine, beer, brandy, and beaver skins, 43, 44.
- Exorbitant price of provisions, 370, 372, 373, *note*.
- Exports, duty of 10 per cent. paid to Company, 35.
- Express from New York to Boston, 325.
- Express Newspaper established by the Brothers Hudson, 323.
- Eyres, Nicholas, 126.
- FAIRS, two Annual, instituted, 37.
- Falmouth, 187.
- Farm, No. 1, 24.
- No. 3, 24.
- Fashions in New York from 1680 to 1690, 80.
- Fathom, a, 38, *note*.
- Faubourg St. Antoine, 422.
- Faunce's Tavern. See *Sam Francis's Tavern*.
- Faxton, Theodore S., 188.
- Federal Constitution, adoption of, publicly announced, 282.
- Government, action of the, in the "Draft Riot," 560, 561.
- Hall, Wall Street, Inauguration of Washington at, 301-303.
- Fenton, Reuben E., 166.
- Ferry, Difficulty in crossing, in the olden time, 354.
- House, the, 88.
- New Amsterdam and Long Island, 40, *note*.
- Old (Peck Slip), 90.
- Regulations, 40.
- Regulations and Tolls, 358, *note*.
- Street, 13, 91, 165.
- Festivals, peculiar and social, observed in New York, etc., 69.
- Fête given by the French Minister to President Washington, 313.
- Fifth Avenue, 336.
- Avenue Hotel, 513, 514.
- Avenue, Reservoir in, 506.
- Financial panic of 1857, 525-537.
- crisis at New Netherland, 43.
- difficulties; discontent of citizens, 65.
- resources of New York City, 643.
- Fire Companies, 583-586.
- Department, History of the Old and New, 563.
- Department (Volunteer), organized, 563.
- Department (Voluntary), established, 581.
- Department, reorganized, 583.
- Engine, first in America, 579.
- Engines, 576-581.
- "Firemen of the City of New York," 581.
- Fires, the numerous, attributed to the slaves, who were accused as incendiaries, 331.
- Fires in New York:*
- Conflagration of 1776, 250.
- " " 1796, 331.
- " " 1811, 366.
- " " 1835, 471-499.
- " " 1845, 509.
- Burning of Crystal Palace, 511, 528.
- " " Burnum's Museum, 511.
- " " Winter Garden Theatre, 511.
- " " Academy of Music, 511.
- " " Harper's Building, 511.
- " " Colored Orphan Asylum, 542.
- " " Merchants' Exchange (See Fire of 1835.)
- First Free Grammar School founded by the Corporation, 122.
- Fish, Preserved, 483.
- Market pulled down, 331.
- Fisk, Col. James, Jun., assassinated, 634 *note*.
- Fitch, John, the real inventor of the steamboat, 349.

- Fitch, John, History of the first application of steam to river and sea navigation, 349-351.
- Five Nations, 109, 110, 117, 120.
- Nations in Council, 119.
- Nations. Convention of, 110.
- Points, 83.
- Points Riot, 1835, described, 467.
- Flame, a ship, 42.
- Flatbush, or Midwout, 60, 148.
- Fleming, Major-General, 401.
- Fleet of five ships despatched by Dutch Government to regain New Amsterdam, 67.
- Fletcher, Col., Governor of New York, 117, 119, 120-122, 142, 174.
- Col., career of, 120, 121.
- Florida, 23.
- Flour, method of manufacture, 76.
- Riot of 1837, 493-499.
- Floyd, William, 202.
- Flushing, 171.
- Fly Market, 90, 226, 334.
- Market Slip, 306.
- "Flying Machine," The, 187.
- Foreman, Joshua, a pioneer of the Erie Canal, 290.
- Forrest, Edwin, his connection with the Astor-place Riot, 520.
- Fort Amsterdam, 62.
- George, (Battery), 135, 199, 214, 273.
- Hope, (South River), 35.
- Lee, 250.
- Orange, (Albany), 28.
- St. Frederick Crown Point), 132.
- Stanwix (Rome), 139, 344.
- Ticonderoga, 214, 593.
- Washington, 250.
- William Hendrick, 67.
- "Fortune" and "Tiger," two ships, 14.
- Fourteenth Regiment, or Governor's Guard, 374, 375, *note*.
- Fourth Avenue, 609.
- France, 18, 289.
- Francis, Dr. John W., 416.
- Sam, tavern, 231, 298.
- Franklin, Benjamin, 456.
- Square, 163, 300.
- Statue, in Printing-House Square, unveiling of, 639.
- Street, 457.
- Lady, visits New York, as the guest of the Hon. Henry Grinnell, 538.
- Tommy, one of the old firemen, 510.
- French settlement on the St. Lawrence, 112.
- Republic, arrival of Genet, first Minister of the new, to the United States, 321.
- French Minister, enthusiastic welcome accorded him by the citizens and U. S. Government, 321.
- French's Hotel, 336.
- Freshwater Pond (Collect or Kolek), 12, 13, 83, 91, 271.
- Friesland, 42.
- Frontenac, Louis de Buade, Count de, Governor of Canada, 113, 120.
- Front Street, 29, 344, 473, 481.
- "Fulton's Folly," origin of the term, 351.
- Fulton Ferry, 357.
- Market, 90.
- Robert, 349, 408.
- Robert, his claims disputed, 349.
- Robert, a steamship, 383.
- Street, 166, 184, 487, 492.
- Furman, 98.
- Fur Trade, improvement in, 41.
- GAGE, General, 30, 190, 199, 211, 212, 241.
- Gaine, Hugh, 250, 275, 287, 319, 488.
- Garden Street, 87, 88, 419, 472, 475.
- Street Church, 472-477.
- Gardoqui, Don, Spanish Ambassador, 306.
- Gaspé, a frigate, destroyed in the waters of the Narragansett, 239.
- General Assembly, power of the, acknowledged, 145.
- Assembly, New, elected, 156.
- Assembly, first meeting since commencement of Stamp-Act Riot, 203.
- Assembly, Governor's opening speech, Oct. 27, 1768, 215.
- Assembly dissolved, and new one convened, 218.
- Congress held at New York, 198.
- Genesee Valley, 418.
- Genet, Citizen, arrival at Charleston as accredited Minister from the French Republic to the U. S., 321.
- George II., 166, 190, 647.
- III., accession of, to the throne of England, 190.
- III., 208, 469.
- Fort, (Battery), 135, 199, 214, 273.
- Georgia, 213.
- Geresolveert, a sheriff, 103.
- Gerrit, a guide, 103.
- Gerry, Mrs., 309.
- Girondists, 445.
- Gomez, Mordecai, 319.
- Goodrich, S. G., (Peter Parley), 371, 489, 490, *note*.
- Good Hope, a yacht, 45.
- Hope, Cape of, 17.
- Gold Coast, 60.

- Gold Street, 83, 90.
 Golden Hill (John Street, between Gold and Cliff Streets), 90, 106.
 ——— Hill, Battle of, 226, 228.
 ——— Shark, a ship, 55.
 Gouverneur Lane, 344, 473.
 Gouanes (Gowanus), 99.
 ——— (Gowanus) Oysters, 99.
 Governor's Island, 19, 376.
 ——— Island, Fortifications thrown up on, 246.
 Government of the City of New York, 116.
 ——— appointments exasperate the people, 192.
 Grace Church, 425.
 Graham, English historian, 214.
 Gramercy Park, 93.
 Grand Central Depot, 601.
 ——— Opera House, 607, 611, 612.
 ——— Street, 12, 13, 232, 467.
 ——— Street Dock, 356.
 Gravesend, 59.
 Gray's Rope Walk, 227.
 "Great Citizenship," The Charter of, 56.
 Great Chicago Fire, 617, 618.
 ——— Chicago Fire, Liberality of American Citizens to the Sufferers by, 617, 618.
 ——— Dock Street, 300.
 ——— excitement in New York City, 224.
 ——— Fire in New York, in 1835, 323, 324, 471-499.
 ——— Mass Meeting in the Park of New York City, to protest against Loan Bill, 223.
 ——— Western, a steamship, 325.
 ——— Barren Island, 233.
 Greek Rebellion, New York City gives aid to, 411.
 Greeley, Horace, goes to Albany to oppose the New Charter, 613.
 "Green Dragon," The, in the Bowery, 486.
 Greene, Captain, 187.
 Greene, General Nathaniel, detached to put New York and Long Island in a state of defence, 246.
 ——— General Nathaniel, urges the destruction of New York City, 248.
 ——— Street, 13, 342.
 Green, William, 170.
 ——— Andrew H., appointed Comptroller, 627.
 Greenland Company, 9.
 Greenwich Street, 57, 154, 318, 331, 403, 613.
 ——— Village, 24, 104, 159, 377, 444, 465.
 Grenville, George, 195.
 Griffin's Wharf, 240.
 Griffin, Mrs., 309.
 Grinnell, Moses H., 637.
 ——— Henry, 528.
 Grounds of New York Hospital, elegant stores now erected on site, 603.
 HACKENSACK RIVER, or Archter Cul, 187.
 Hackney Coach, the first, 93, *note*.
 Hague, the Dutch Government at the, 42, 59.
 ——— Rev. Dr., 367.
 Haldimand, General, commander-in-chief, *vice* Gen. Gage, 241.
 Hale, J. W., starts an express, 325.
 "Half 'Moon," Hendrick Hudson's exploring vessel, 10, 14.
 Half Moon Fort, 115.
 Halifax, Earl of, 191.
 Halifax, N. S., 216.
 Hallams, The, actors at the John Street Theatre, 338.
 Halleck, Fitz-Greene, 375, 418, 489, 637.
 Hall of Records, the old Debtors' Prison, 468.
 Hall, A. Oakey, Mayor, 620.
 ——— Brigadier-General, 525.
 Hamburg, 512.
 Hamersley Street, 14.
 Hamilton, Alexander, 137, 235, 245, 282, 303, 341, 342.
 ——— Alexander, Killed by Aaron Burr in a duel, 345.
 ——— Alexander, 420, 512, 630.
 ——— Andrew, eminent American lawyer, defends Zenger, 135.
 ——— Andrew, receives the freedom of city in a gold box, 136.
 ——— Federal ship, carried in procession, 286.
 ——— Fort, 359.
 Hamlet, a ship, 394.
 Hanover Street, 419, 481, 482.
 ——— Square, 89, 93, 272, 336, 473.
 Hardenbrook Club, 340.
 Hardie, his account of the yellow fever, 377.
 Hard Times of 1812, 370.
 Hardy, Sir Charles, Governor of New York, 179, 271.
 ——— Sir Charles, resigns, 179.
 Harlem Heights, 233, 248.
 ——— Plains, 250.
 ——— River, 126, 504, 657.
 ——— River at High Bridge, 502.
 Harnden, W. F., establishes the first Express Company, 325.
 Harper, an actor at John St. Theatre, 338.
 Harper's Building, 511.



- Harper's Weekly, its aid in exposing the
 frauds of the Tammany Ring,
 635.
 ——— Magazine, 516.
 Harrison, Richard, 341.
 ——— Mr., 135.
 Harsen Estate, 598.
 Hart, Canal Commissioner, 408.
 ——— Eli, his storesacked by a mob, 495.
 Hartford, 186.
 ——— The Aetna of, Insurance Com-
 pany, 476.
 Havemeyer, W. F., 620.
 Hay, Lady, 123.
 Hays, Thomas, correspondence with au-
 thor, 367.
 Heath, General, 244.
 Helas, Colonel, his regiment called out in
 the Flour Riots, 498.
 Hell Gates, The, 83, 102, 266, 489.
 ——— Gates, Great and Little, described,
 102.
 Hendrick, Fort William, 67.
 Henlopen, Cape, 51.
 Henry, Patrick, 140.
 Henry VII., 374.
 Herald Building, 602.
 Heere Straat (Broadway), 30.
 Heerman's Orchard, 93.
 Hewlett, David, 424.
 Hewletts, The, 424.
 Hicks, Whitehead, 240.
 High Bridge, 502, 504.
 Highlands, Defence of, 245.
 Hillsborough, Earl of, his letter to Gov-
 ernor Moore, 217.
 Hineman, Colonel, 410.
 Historical Society of New York, 234, 268,
 386, 639.
 ——— Society of New York founded,
 345.
 ——— Society of Long Island, 93.
 ——— Magazine, 270, 605.
 Hitchcock, Professor, 413.
 Hoboken Ferry, 355, 375.
 ——— Ferry-boat, 355, 376.
 Hodgkinson, Thomas, landlord of Shaks-
 peare Tavern, 487.
 ——— John, lessee of the Park Theatre,
 488.
 Hoffman, Josiah Orden, 287, 341, 362.
 ——— Governor, 533, 616.
 Holidays and National Festivals, descrip-
 tion of, 69, 70, 71.
 Holland, 14, 15, 20, 21, 30, 57, 59, 97, 289.
 ——— citizens of, 56.
 ——— and Boston (Export Trade be-
 tween), 30.
 ——— North, 17.
 Hollanders, 16.
 "Hollandia" (Wall Street), 92.
 Holt, John, an editor, 276.
 "Honest John Laing," 480.
 Hoofden (Headlands), 97.
 Hook and Ladder Companies, 586.
 Hope, Fort, 35.
 Horse and Cart Lane, 593, *note*.
 Horsmanden, Daniel, Chief Justice, 135,
 144, 152, 163, 194.
 Hosack, Doctor, 234, 358, 369, 386, 415.
 Hospital, New York City, 211.
 ——— New York City, founded, 231.
 ——— New York City, destroyed, 598,
 603.
 ——— State Woman's, 537.
 Hostility between the soldiers and the
 people, 212.
 Hotel, Fifth Avenue, 513, 514.
 Hotham, Admiral, 247.
 House of Commons, 246.
 ——— of Representatives, convened, 292.
 Hoven, 14.
 Howard, Lord, 110.
 Howe, Lord, arrives with reinforcements
 off Sandy Hook, 247.
 Howe, Dr. Samuel G., 412.
 Hubbard, Rev. Mr., 122.
 Hudson, Hendrick, 9, 10, 14.
 ——— Brothers, establish the first News
 Room, 323.
 ——— River, 14, 78, 372.
 ——— River Railroad Freight Depot
 erected on site of St. John's
 Park, 12, 598.
 ——— Square, 232.
 ——— shore of the, 439.
 Huguenots, 22.
 Huggins, the Barber-Author, 453.
 Hughes, Archbishop, 508.
 ——— Archbishop, addresses the rioters,
 553.
 Hughson, John, an alleged accomplice in
 the Negro Plot, 151.
 HUMAN remains in Old North Dutch
 Church graveyard removed to
 Greenwood Cemetery, 594.
 Hume, the historian, 150.
 Humphries, Colonel, 309.
 Hunter, Governor, 123, 126, 152, 162.
 ——— Fort, 139.
 Huntington, an artist, 637.
 Husking Bees, 69.
 Hutchinson, Chief Justice, 192, 237.
 IBRAHIM PASHA oppresses the Greeks,
 412.
 Ides, Vrouwtje, 270.
 Illinois, 108.
 ——— Trade, 108.
 Illuminations in New York, 305-307.
 Inauguration Ball (Washington), 283,
 307.

- Ingleberg (Beacon or Murray Hill), 93.
 Independent Battery, The, 246.
Independent Gazette, 277.
Independent Reflector, The, established, 175.
 India, Channel to, 14.
 Indian Trade, 109, 215.
 — War, 26, *note*.
 Indians, 14, 16, 20, 23.
 — War with, occasioned by tax levied on corn, furs, etc., supplied by them, 36, 37.
 — New England, enter into competition with Long Island Montauks, 38.
 — Treaty with, 47.
 — Raritan, employed as miners, 48.
 — invade Canada, 112.
 — trade with, revived, 126, 127.
 — the Stockbridge, collisions between them and the citizens of Dutchess county, 210.
 Industrial status of New York, facts and figures relating to, 645.
 Inglis, Rev. Dr. Charles, 252.
 Ingoldesby, Major Richard, 119.
 Inman, Henry, 416, 637.
 — John, 490.
 Institution for Deaf and Dumb, 638, 639.
 — for Deaf and Dumb, Col. W. L. Stone, one of its earliest and most zealous promoters, 638, *note*.
 Insurance Patrols, 482.
 Iroquois, 16.
 — Indians and the French, war between, 111.
 Irish and American mobs in the Five Points Riot, 468.
 Irving House, 511.
 — Judge, 483.
 JACKSON, Gen. Andrew, Ball given in his honor at the City Hotel, 374, 375.
 Jacques, Moses, 495.
 Jamaica, 61, 122, 159.
 James River, Virginia, 11.
 — Street, 12, 13.
 — Duke of York and Albany, 60, 68, 106, 108.
 — IL, 118, 122, 647.
 — Major, 201, 209.
 Jan, Mr., 97.
 Japanese Embassy, reception of, 538.
 Jarvis, John Wesley, 453.
 Jauncey, James, 219.
 Jay, John, eminent American lawyer, 232, 235, 283, 300, 329, 341.
 — Peter A., 362.
 Jefferson, Thomas, 329, 422, 441.
 Jemison, an interpreter, 416.
 Jenny Lind visits United States, 538.
 Jersey, New, 11.
 — Blues, 488.
 — Prison ship, 255.
 Jesuits, 110.
 Jews, 22, 641.
 Jewish Cemetery, 91, 246.
 John Street, 83, 89, 165, 211, 226, 336, 338, 420.
 — Street, Theater in, 338.
 Johnson, Sir John, 308.
 — Rev. Samuel, first President of Columbia College, 177.
 — Colonel Sir William, 165, 177, 181, 183, 200, 206, 218, 221, 230.
 — Mrs. Isidore, affecting incident of, 334.
 Joinville, Prince de, 538.
 Joncaire, Father, 128.
 Jones, Mr., member of Colonial Assembly, 194.
 — Paul, 431.
 — Samuel, the elder, an eminent American lawyer, 341.
 Jones's Wood, 489.
 Joris, Adriaen, 20.
 Journal of Commerce, 231, 325, 327.
 — of Commerce Building, 271.
 Judson, E. Z. C. (Ned Buntline), 522.
 KALB, Baron de, 187.
 Kats, Old, 452.
 Keith, Governor William, 127.
 Kennedy House (No. 1 Broadway), 152, 270.
 — Capt. Archibald, 153, 271.
 — Robert L., 608.
 Kensett, an artist, 637.
 Kerstrydt (Christmas), 69.
 Kewley, Rev. John, 170.
 Key of Kahnar, a ship, 42.
 Kidd, Captain, the Pirate, 74.
 — Captain, arrested, and sent to England for trial, 122.
 Kieft, Governor, William, 26, 32, 33, 39.
 — Governor, William, makes a levy on Van Rensselaer's goods, 42.
 — Governor, William, discovers war material in the cargo, 43.
 — Governor, William embarks for Holland, and is lost at sea, 48.
 Kil von Kol, 97.
 "Kill," The, 501.
 King's Bridge, 131, 249.
 — Chapel, 167.
 — College, 177, 241, 251.
 — County, 114.
 — Birthday celebration, 1766., 208.
 — Road, 339.

- King's Arms Tavern, 30, *note*.
 King Street, 227.
 ——— William, III. 121.
 Kip, Hendricksen, one of the nine men wishes to depose Kieft, 30, 56.
 ——— Mrs., 148.
 ——— Rt. Rev. Bishop, 657.
 Kirke-Meesters, 34.
 Kissam, Mr., 219.
 "Kissing Bridge," The, 83.
 Knight, Miss S., travels on horseback from Boston to New York; diary of her journey, 125, 126.
 Knox, General, 300, 311, 421.
 Koebs, Peter, 152, 270.
 ——— Mrs. 152, 270.
 Koeck, bell-ringer, 77.
 "Kolek," see Collect.
 Kolek Hook, 91.
 Koopman, 20.
 Koorn, Nicholas, appointed "Wacht-Meester," at Beeren Island, 45.
 Krigier, Capt. Martin, 30, 57, 567.
 Krigier's Tavern, 30.
 ——— Tavern, Demolition of, 30, *note*.
 Kuyter, Damen, Kieft, and De Vries, appointed Kirke-Meesters, 33.

 LABADISTS visit New York and Long Island; their journal, 93-105.
 Lafayette Amphitheatre, Laurens Street, 407.
 ——— Fort, 383.
 ——— General, 338.
 ——— General, reception of, and his son, at New York, 379-389.
 ——— General, visit various national institutions, 386-389.
 ——— General, Departure for Boston and Philadelphia, 387, 388.
 ——— General, his death, 459.
 ——— General, Funeral honors paid him by the authorities and citizens, 459.
 ——— Place, Riot at, 527.
 Laight, Edward W., 170.
 ——— William, 287, 318.
 ——— Street, 163.
 Laing, John, "Honest John Laing," editor of *New York Gazette*, 480.
 Lake's Hermitage, 339.
 Lake's Champlain, 132.
 ——— near John and Gold Streets, 83.
 Lamb, Anthony, 580.
 ——— John, 201, 224, 249, 245, 510.
 Landais, Pierre de, 431-434.
 Landon, M. D., describes election-day frauds, 632.
 ——— Samuel, 287.
 Land-gate, 89.
 Langdon, John, 292.
 Langdon, Mrs., 309.
 Lansing, Chief Justice, his charge at Levi Weeks' trial, 341-343.
 Latimer, Hugh, 137.
 Laud, Archbishop, 137.
 Loughton, Jack, 301.
 Laurence, Isaac, 170.
 Lawrence, Cornelius W., Mayor, 464, 466.
 ——— Eugene, his description of New York during British occupation, 268, *note*.
 La Montagne, Dr. Johannes, a member of Kieft's Council, 32, 56.
 La Salle, Robert, Cavalier de, 108, 109.
 Leake, John, builder of Shakespeare Tavern, 487.
 L'Enfant, M., 301.
 Lee, Richard Henry, 214, 292.
 ——— General Arthur, 246.
 ——— Richard Bland, 292.
 ——— Mayor, 458.
 ——— Fort, the retreat of Washington, 250.
 Lee's Dragoons, 301.
 Le Moyne, a Jesuit, discovers fish in American Lakes, 55.
 Leisler, ex-Governor, executed for treason, 118, 141.
 Lenni Lenape Indians, 11.
 Leonard Street, 132, 349, 463, 604.
 Lewis, Zachariah, proprietor of the *Minerva*, alters its title to the *Commercial Advertiser*, 331.
 Lewis, Morgan, 299.
 Lexington, Battle of, 228, 244.
 Libel Suit, first great, tried in the city, 134.
 Lichenstein, Max Jahn, 425, 438.
 Light-house erected at Sandy Hook, 184.
 Lincoln, Abraham, statue of, 514.
 ——— Abraham, funeral obsequies of, 657.
 Lind, Jenny, visits New York, 528.
 Liquor, Sale of, prohibitory laws passed, 49.
 Lisenard Meadows, 335, 340.
 ——— Street, 340, 603.
 Literature and Art in New York, 636, 637.
 Little Quen Street, 320.
 Livingston, Chancellor, 300, 349, 390, 441.
 ——— Brockholst, eminent American lawyer, 341, 342.
 ——— Doctor, 421.
 ——— James, 177.
 ——— Peter van Burgh, delivers congratulatory address to Washington, 244.
 ——— Robert, 177.
 ——— Robert R., 205, 283, 408, 445.
 ——— William, 135, 174, 177, 194, 299.

- Livingston, Janet, wife of Gen. Montgomery, 374, *note*.
 London, 96.
 ——— Fires, 512.
 Longueuil, Baron de, 128.
 Long Island, its potteries, 59.
 ——— Island Ferry, 39.
 ——— Island, its general condition, 95, 233, 246, 376, 474.
 ——— Island, Battle of, 247.
 ——— Island, fortifications thrown up on, 246.
 ——— Island Sound, 372, 375.
 Longshore men and Stevedores, Strike among the, 486.
 Loockermans, Capt. Govert, refuses to strike his flag, 45.
 Lords of Trade, 210.
 Loudon, Lord, commander-in-chief of British army in America, arrives in New York, 181.
 ——— Lord, his outrage upon the Charter of Liberties, 151, 182.
 Lovelace, Governor, succeeding Gov. Nicholls, 66, 107, 123, 141.
 Lower Bay, 186.
 Lowndes, Justice, 464.
 Lownds, Poppy, the old Jailer of the Debtors' Prison, 463.
 Low, Major, 401.
 Loyola, Ignatius, 109.
 Ludlow, Rev. Mr., 462, 463.
 ——— E. H., 605.
 ——— Street Jail, 633.
 Lutheran Chapel, 252.
 Lyons, N. Y., 391.

 MCBURNEY, RICHARD, 607.
 McCaffrey, Doctor, killed, 468.
 McDougal Street, 462, 463.
 McDougall, Captain, 237.
 McDougall's Battery, 246.
 McEvers, Stamp Distributor, 199.
 McGilvery, Alexander, a half breed, 228.
 McGowan's Pass, 530.
 Maagde Paartje (Maiden Lane), 89, *note*.
 Macready, W. C., the tragedian, his visit to New York, 520.
 ——— Riot, 520.
 Madison, James, 288, 314, 365.
 ——— James, Declares war against Great Britain, 567.
 ——— Square, 325, 643.
 Madisonian Democracy, 365.
 Magellan Straits, 17.
 Magnetic Telegraph, 507.
 Maiden Lane (Maiden's Valley), 83, 474.
 Mails, early, 186.
 Maine Coast, 54.
 Manhattan and Long Islands, description of, 95, 98.
 ——— Island, or New York, 9, 10, 15, 16, 20, 504.
 "Manhattan Seawant," 39.
 Manhattan Town, Improvements in, 59.
 ——— Well, Miss Sand's body found in, 242.
 Manhattanville, 249, 504, 505.
 Manhasset, 168.
 Manners and Customs and social condition of New York under Dutch rule, 69.
 Manning, Captain John, 67.
 Manor of Polham, 148.
 Map and Survey of New Netherland made, 58.
 Marcellus, Rev. Mr., 378.
 Marine Society in Procession, 287, 394.
 Market Days and Fairs, Regulation of, 52.
 ——— a New, established in Broad Street, 124.
 Market-place for inhabitants of Long Island, etc., 88.
 Market boats rowed by women, 88.
 Marketfield Street, 30, 403, 509.
 Martivale, Galeotti, 279.
 Maryland, 110.
 Mary, Queen, 118.
 Massachusetts, 31, 35, 121, 216.
 Masonic Fraternity, 219, 229.
 ——— Hall, 419.
 Mason, Rev. Dr. John M., 361-365, 641.
 Mathias, Mr., 416.
 Mauritius River (North River), 14, 27.
 Max-Lichenstein, Jan, 435, 438.
 Maxwell, William, 287.
 ——— Hugh, his connection with the Trinity Church Riot, 361.
 May Flower, a ship, 90.
 Medical School established, 211.
 Megapolensis, Domine Johannes, 57.
 Melyn, Cornelis, a patroon in Staten Island, 48.
 Mercer, Street, 603.
 Merchants' Coffee-house, 199, 297, 219, 321, 318.
 ——— Exchange Bank, 602, 603.
 ——— Exchange, The first, 166.
 ——— Exchange, 321, 322, 336, 419, 507.
 ——— Exchange, burning of, 474, 476, 482.
 Merchant Street, 471.
 Mermaid Tavern, 488.
 Mersereau, John, runs a stage to Philadelphia, 187.
 Methodist Denomination established, 211, 420.
 Metropolitan Fair, Great, 638.
 ——— Bank, Broadway, 603.
 Meyer, Nicholas, 106.

- Meyer, Adolph, 255.
 Mexican War, 516.
 Miamis, 111.
 Middleburg, 17.
 Middle Dutch Church, 254, 516.
 Midwout (Flatbush), 60.
 Midlin, General, 295.
 Milburn, Leisler's son-in-law, 118, 141.
 Militia, The, services to the city, 459.
 Miller, Doctor Samuel, 642.
 Milligan, John, 172.
 Millington, Rev. John, 131.
 Milnor, Rev. Dr., 170.
 Milton, 654.
 Minetta Brook, 93.
 Ming, Jr., Alexander, incites a riot, 494.
 Minuit, Peter, appointed Director-General of New Netherland, 20, 23, 92.
 Mitchell, Doctor, pours the waters of various foreign rivers into the Atlantic Ocean, 398.
 Mohawks, or Maquas, the Iroquois tribe of, 120, 166.
 Mohawk River, 139.
 ——— Valley, 139.
 Monckton, General, 191, 202.
 Montauks, The, 38.
 Montgomery, Governor John, 130, 162.
 ——— General Richard, 244, 373.
 Montgomery's Monument, 374.
 Montgomery Ward, 167.
 Montgomery's Charter, 647.
 Montgomery, Mrs. Janet, 309, 373.
 Montreal, 109, 112, 127, 190.
 Montaigne's Tavern, 226.
 Moore Street, 87, 88.
 ——— Rev. Richard, 168.
 ——— Bishop, 415.
 ——— Colonel, 167.
 ——— Tom, 423.
 ——— Captain, as Columbus in the Erie Canal celebration, 284.
 ——— Sir Henry, Governor, 202, 206, 207, 208, 209, 212, 217, 221.
 ——— Sir Henry, death of, 222: throws a gloom over the whole colony, 230, 243, 276.
 Moravian Chapel built, 165.
 Moustier, Count, 306, 441.
 Morocco, 289.
 Morris, Colonel Roger, 250.
 ——— Robert, 307.
 ——— Chief Justice, 421.
 ——— Gouverneur, 386, 421.
 ——— Governor, 182.
 ——— Street, 24, 92.
 Morse, John, 322.
 ——— S. F. B., 587.
 ——— S. F. B., erection of statue of, in Central Park, 639.
 Morton, Major, 299, 381, 458.
 Mott, Gershom, 201.
 ——— Doctor, 234.
 Mount Vernon Gardens, 340.
 ——— Vernon, 293.
 Moyné, Father Simon C., discovers salt at Syracuse, 54.
 Muhlenburgh, F. Aug, 292.
 Mulberry Street, 529.
 Municipal Election in New York City, 531-535.
 ——— Privileges, as established in Germany and Holland, introduced into New Amsterdam by Governor Stuyvesant, 56.
 ——— Frauds, Remonstrance of Citizens in relation to, 618.
 Munsell, Joel, 256.
 Murphy, Hon. Henry C., For. Corresponding Sec. Long Island Historical Society, 93, 94.
 Murray Hill, Distributing Reservoir, 506.
 ——— Street, 336, 612.
 ——— Colonel J. B., 375.
 Music, Academy of, 511.
 Mutiny Act, 205, 211, 213, 223.
 Mutz, Katey, keeps a favorite place of resort, 339.
 Myers, Colonel T. Bailey, 586.
 ——— Mrs. T. Bailey, 466.
 NAIAD HOSE COMPANY, 511.
 Nancy, a ship, 243.
 Nanfan, Lieutenant Governor, 122.
 Napoleon Bonaparte, 248.
 Narrows, The, 186.
 Nassau, Fort (Albany), 16.
 ——— Street, 115, 132, 211, 336, 487.
 Natalie, a ward of Aaron Burr, 416.
 National Guard (Seventh Regiment), 394, 458, 482, 498.
 ——— Academy of the Arts of Design, 588, 589.
 Nautical Society, 394.
 Naval War between England and Holland; effect on New Netherland, 54.
 Navy Yard, 480; Lafayette visits, 386.
 Negro Riot of 1712, 272.
 ——— Plot (Riot) of 1741, 147-152.
 Negroes the special object of the fury of the mob during the draft riot of 1863, 552, 556, 559.
 Nichol, Mr., 177.
 Nieuwenhuysen, Domine Wilhelmus Van, 96.
 Neversink Hills, 48, 97.
 Newark, 244, 275.
 Newburgh, 352.
 Newfoundland, 10, 17, 23.
 Newspapers:
 New York Gazette, 133, 136, 274, 328.

Newspapers:

- Boston Newsletter, 274.
 New York Weekly Journal, 133, 274.
 New York Evening Post, 275, 276.
 New York Mercury, 275.
 New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, 275.
 New York Chronicle, 276.
 New York Pacquet, 276.
 New York Journal and General Advertiser, 276, 330.
 New York Royal Gazette, 278.
 Parker's Gazette, 276.
 Independent Gazette, 277.
 Rivington's Gazette, 277.
 New York Commercial Advertiser, 282, 278, 388, 487.
 New York Express, 323.
 New York American, 375.
 British Evening Post, 227.
 Columbia, 355.
 New York Journal of Commerce, 231, 237.
 Minerva, 331.
 Weekly Post Boy, 167.
 Independent Reflector, 175.
 Universal Register, 250.
 New York Times, 619.
 New York World, account of New York in 1748, 166-169.
 New Amsterdam, 23, 26, 28, 34, 50, 53, 59, 73, 76, 80, 94, 148.
 — Brunswick, 186.
 Newcastle, Duke of, 232.
 New Catherine Slip, 356.
 — Democracy, 613.
 — England, 30, 35, 49.
 — England Indians, War with, 42.
 — England Puritans, 31.
 — Englanders, 38, 41, 42.
 — Hampshire Grants, 241.
 — Hampshire, Government of, 129, 197.
 — Harlem (New York City), 102.
 — Haven, 50, 121, 186.
 — Jail Riot, see Riots.
 — Jersey, 103, 122, 130, 144, 474.
 — Netherland, 9, 17, 21, 22, 31, 38, 46, 59, 62, 63, 64, 147.
 — Netherland, the names of two ships; first ship, 18, 19; second ship, 22.
 — Netherland Company, 16.
 — Street, 509.
 — Utrecht, 61, 148.
 — Year's Day, 70, 317.
 — York and Albany Steamers, 352.
 — York, Ancient and Modern, History of City and Government, 37, 67, 112, 246, 639-658.
 — York, Interior and social life of, 256.
 New York, Introduction of Gas and Croton Water, 643.
 — York, Real and Personal Estate, estimate of, according to Census of 1871, 643-645.
 — York Merchant Shipping and Tonnage, Passenger vessels, etc., 645.
 — York Post-Office Returns, 645.
 — York Industrial Population, analysis, 646.
 — York Charters, various, of the City; their provisions, 647.
 — York, State of Education, Libraries and Reading Rooms, 649.
 — York, Emigration Statistics, 651.
 — York, Review of its condition generally, 649-658.
 — York, "Draft Riot" in, 529-562.
 — York, Subsequent Fires, not hitherto enumerated, 511.
 — York, Comparison with other cities, as to number and extent of conflagrations, 512.
 — York Bay, 243; frozen over, 254, 381.
 — York County, 114.
 — York Pulpit, 641.
 — York University, 466, 507.
 — York Island, 10, 11, 12.
 — York Island, topography, 11.
 — York Harbor put in state of defence, 246.
 — York Coffee-House, 404.
 — York, Government of, 129.
 — York Congress, 244.
 — York, New Post-Office, 602.
 — York Hospital, 211, 231, 598.
 — York Life Assurance Company's Building, 603.
 — York Society Library founded, 345.
 — York, Gas introduced into, 507.
 Niagara, 109, 128, 417.
 Nicholl, William, 203.
 Nicholson, Francis, Lieutenant-Governor of New York and Commissioner, 286.
 Nicolls, Colonel Richard, appointed Deputy-Governor for the Duke of York, 66, 107.
 Nieuw Jar (New Year), 70.
 Night Watch, a regular, established in New York City, 574-576.
 Niles's Register, 486.
 Ninth National Bank, 603.
 Noah, Major Mordecai M., 405.
 North Carolina, 231.
 — Carolina, a ship, 297, 306.
 — Dutch Church, in William Street, previously a prison, 254

- North River, 14, 52, 93, 102, 335,
353, 375.
—— River Steamboat, 352, *note*, and
353.
—— and South Rivers, Trade on, 52,
53.
Nott, Rev. Dr., 137.
Number One (1) Broadway (Kennedy
House), 154, 270, 271.
Nuttan's (Governor's) Island, 19.
- OATES, TITUS, 151.
O'Brien, Sheriff, 613.
O'Brien, Colonel, murdered by the mob,
550.
O'Connell Guards, 467.
O'Connor, Charles, selected to prosecute
the Tammany Ring, 629.
O'Callaghan, Doctor E. B., 105, 145.
Ogden, Lewis, 331.
—— David B., 362.
—— John and Richard, 34.
Ogilvie, Rev. John, 168.
Old Brick Church, The, 590, 591.
—— Democracy, The, 613.
—— Ferry, see Peck Slip.
—— North Dutch Church, cor. Fulton
and William Streets, 593, 594,
note.
—— Shakespeare Tavern, 487, 488.
—— Sugar House, 253.
—— Slip, 246, 473, 481.
—— Tom's Chop House, 264.
—— Warren Mansion, The, 590.
—— Wreck Brook, 91.
Oliver, Andrew, 196.
—— Street, 91.
Onderdonck, John, 170.
Oneida Lake, 139.
—— 55.
Oneidas, 108.
Onondagas, 108, 124.
Ontario, Indian name of the Governors
of Canada, 111.
Ontario, 55.
—— Lake, 109.
Opdyke, Mayor, 543.
Opera House, Astor Place, 521, 522.
Orange County, 114, 136.
—— Fort (Albany), 28, 35, 45, 95.
—— Prince of, 27, 45, 616.
—— Riot, 616, 617.
Order of Jesus, members of, 108.
Oriental Store Works, now occupying
the former site of St. George's
Chapel, 170.
Osborne, Sir Dunvers, 164, 171.
Osgood, Rev. Dr., 348, 639.
Oswego, 127, 128, 130, 139.
Otis, James, 192, 193, 196, 243.
—— Samuel A., 292.
- Otsego, Lake, 156.
Owl's Kill, 91.
Oyster Bay, on Long Island, the limit of
Dutch Settlements, 148.
- PAAS (Passion Week), 70.
Pacific Ocean, 17.
Page, William, artist, 637.
Palatines, 123.
Palmyra, N. Y., 391.
Park Theater, 232, 405, 488.
Park and other Banks, 602, 603.
—— Place, 211, 529.
—— City Hall, 498.
—— St. John's, 12.
Parker, Jason, drives a mail stage, 188.
—— James, an editor, 136.
Parker's Gazette, 276.
Passaic River, 187.
Passage Place, 89.
Passports, prohibition against travelling
without, 35.
Patterson, General, escorts Mrs. General
Riedesel to a ball, 260; sails for
England, 265.
Partition Street (Fulton), 184.
Patroons, 21, 22, 23, 34, 42.
Patroneries, 21.
Paulding, James K., 56, 489.
Paulus Hook (Jersey City) and New York
Ferry established, 185.
—— Hook (Jersey City), 185, 186, 246.
Peace of 1667, 108.
—— of 1783, 288.
Peale's Museum, 404.
Pearl Street, 24, 30, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93,
115, 165, 232, 284, 299, 318, 321,
331, 336, 403, 419, 467, 472.
—— Street opened through the New
York Hospital grounds, 599.
Peet, Harvey P., letter of, to the author,
638.
Peck Slip, 29, 30, 90, 165, 246.
Peckham, Wheeler H., 629.
Peloponnesus, The, 412.
Peltry, export duty on, increased, 50.
Penn, William, 113.
Pennsylvania, 123.
Pepperell, Sir William, 487.
Pequods, 31.
Percival, James Gates, dines with J. F.
Cooper at the City Hotel, 489.
Percy, Lord, 250.
Periodicals, number of, in the United
States, *note*, 278.
Perth Amboy Ferry, stage-boats run to,
186.
Peters, Henry, 170.
Philadelphia, stages established between
New York and, 186.
Philipse, Colonel Adolph, 140.

- Philippe, Louis, teaches school in New York, 597.
 Phillips, General, 260, 265.
 Phoenix, Mrs. D., 81.
 Phyfe, D., makes a box from a log of Erie cedar, for Lafayette, 397.
 Pine Street, 336, 425.
 Pintard, Lewis, 206, 317.
 ——— John, 255.
 Pinxter (Whitsuntide), 70.
 Pitt, William, 208, 210.
 Pleasure Gardens at Harlem, 85.
 Plymouth Company, 24
 ——— Harbor, 23
 ——— Rock, 18.
 Pneumatic Railroad, 612.
 Poelnitz, Baron, 284.
 Police Regulations, a new code of, enacted, 114.
 Political Parties in New York, origin of, 142.
 Pomeroy, General, 244.
 Popish Pretender, 158.
 Popish Plot, 150.
 Popular Government established, by the construction of a General Assembly, 113.
 Population of New York, 642, 652.
 Porter, Peter B., 408.
 Portuguese, 148.
 Post Office, 166; history of, 516-520.
 ——— Office Building, the New, 601.
 ——— Road, old, 93.
 ——— Doctor, 234.
 Potatoes, Price of Bermuda, 30.
 Potemkin, Prince, 435.
 Potomac River, 138.
 Potter's Field, removal of bodies from, 537.
 ——— Hill, 91.
 Potter, Bishop Alonzo, 349.
 Powder House, The, 91, *note*.
 Powell, Thos., a steamboat, 352, 353, *note*.
 Powle's (Paulus) Hook, 375.
 Pownal, Thomas, 190.
 Pratt, Chief Justice, 191, 195.
 Presbyterian (Wall Street) Church, 165.
 President of the United States, official title of the, 294.
 Preston, Colonel, 227.
 Prevost, General, 182.
 Price of Provisions, 184.
 Priestly, Doctor, 422.
 Printing House Square, 639.
 Printz, Gov., 42.
 Prison Ship, the horrors of the "Jersey," 255, 256, *note*.
 Prisoners, neglect and ill-treatment of, 255.
 Prison Weekly Dietary, 255.
 Privateer, La Garce, 43.
 Procession in honor of founding the Republic, 282-290.
 Provincial Congress, 243, 245.
 Provost, Old, see Debtors' Prison.
 ——— Bishop, 304.
 ——— Rev. Samuel, 168.
 ——— David, a Tobacco Inspector at Manhattan, and Commissary at Fort Good Hope, 148.
 ——— Ready Money (David), the Long Island Smuggler, 488.
 Provost's Tomb, Jones's Wood, 491.
 Prussia, 289.
 Public burial-ground in the entrenchments, 253.
 Public School Society, 345.
 Public Wells established, 569.
 Puritans, 18, 31, 654.
 Putnam, General, 244, 246.
 ——— Mrs. Washington, 74.
 QUAKERS, 22.
 Quarantine Establishment at Bedloe's Island, 139.
 ——— Buildings on Staten Island destroyed by the populace, 537.
 Quebec, 113, 214, 244.
 Queen's County, 114.
 Queen Street (Pearl), 284, 298, 300.
 Quider, Indian name of Peter Schuyler, 119.
 Quilting Bees, 69.
 RABBIT ISLAND, 97.
 Raneleagh Gardens, 292, 339.
 Raritan River, 186.
 ——— Indians, 48.
 "Ready Money Provost," 488, 489, *note*.
 Reade Street, 232, 335.
 Real Estate Auctions, 606.
 Reector Street, 139.
 Red Jacket (Sagoyewatha) visits New York, and has his portrait painted, 416; Doctor Francis describes his personal appearance, 417-419.
 Reformed Dutch Church, 24.
 Reid, an Assemblyman, 199.
 ——— Captain Mayne, relates an anecdote of Lafayette, 380.
 Religious Denominations of New York, 641.
 Rensselaer, Killian Van, 25.
 Rensselaerwyck (Albany), 44.
 Renwick, Doctor, 365.
 Reservoir on Fifth Avenue, 505.
 ——— Distributing, 501.
 Restless, the first vessel built in New Amsterdam, 15.
 Revenue, Public, of New Netherland, 66.

- Review of administrations of various Governors, 141.
 Reynolds, Sir Joshua, 455.
 Rhoda, Lewis, first man killed by a Steamboat accident, 356.
 Rhode Island, 197.
 Richards, T. Addison, 637.
 Richmond Hill, 348, 415, 440.
 ——— County, 114.
 Riedesel, General, 256, 268.
 ——— Mrs. General, her history of the Siege of New York, and incidents connected therewith, 256-270.
 Riots:
 Abolitionist, 460.
 Astor Place, 520.
 Boston, 199.
 Bread, 536.
 Dead Rabbit, 534.
 Doctor's Mob, 234-236.
 Draft, 368, 461, 539.
 Election, 456-460.
 Five Points, 467, 468.
 Flour, 493-499.
 'Longshoremen's, 486.
 Macready, 520-528.
 Negro, of 1712, 272.
 Negro, of 1741, 147-152.
 Orange, 616, 617.
 Police, 532.
 Quarantine, 537.
 Stamp Act, 197-199.
 Stone Cutters', 466.
 Trinity Church, 359-365, *note*.
 Riots, year of, 456.
 Rivington, James, editor and owner *New York Gazette*, 277, 278.
 Roach, Thomas, 319.
 Roberts, Marshall O., 637.
 Robinson, Thomas, one of the Sons of Liberty, 201.
 ——— Colonel, 167.
 Rochambeau, Count, 338.
 Rochefort, 113.
 Rodgers, Rev. Doctor, 421.
 Roelandsen, Adam, a school-master, 24, 32.
 Rogers, Doctor, 234.
 Roosevelt Street, 91.
 ——— Hon. R. B., 620, 624.
 ——— Jacobus, 91.
 Rose Street, 461.
 Rossa, O'Donovan, 631.
 Rostopchin, General, 248.
 Ruggles, Timothy, 198.
 Rushmore, Isaac, his experiences in crossing the ferries in early times, 354.
 Russia, 14.
 Rutgers Street, 13.
 Rutgers' Farm, 231.
 ——— Mr., 232.
 ——— Colonel, 340.
 Ryker, Hendrick, 90.
 St. BENICIO, a ship, 50, 51.
 St. Clair, Governor, 295.
 St. Frederick, Fort, 132.
 St. George Building, 169.
 St. George's Chapel, 166-169, 366.
 St. George, a ship, 271.
 St. John's, 374.
 St. John's Park, 12, 598, 599.
 St. James Coffee House, 498.
 St. James's Chronicle, 227.
 St. John's Day, 219.
 St. Lawrence River, 109.
 St. Nicholas, Old Church of, 78, 475.
 St. Michael's Day, 116.
 St. Paul's Church, 232, 304, 333, 366.
 St. Petersburg, 436.
 St. Philip's Church (Colored), 463, 465.
 St. Tammany, see Tammany.
 Sagoyewatha (Red Jacket), 416, 417, 419.
 Sam Francis's Tavern (Black Sam's), 231, 298.
 Sandford, General, 525.
 Sand Hills, 13.
 Sand's Point, 375.
 Sands, Robert C., 489, 637.
 ——— Juliana Elmore, murder of, 342.
 Sandy Hook, 11, 55, 67, 97, 380.
 Santa Claus (Christ-Kinkle Day), 70.
 Sappokanikke (Greenwich), 104.
 Sargeant, Charles and John, 203.
 Saratoga Battle Ground, 592.
 ——— Battle of, 256.
 ——— Springs, 74, 374.
 ——— troops captured at, 268.
 Schaats, Domine, 95.
 Schermerhorn, Cornelius, 170.
 Schenectady, 120.
 Schieffelin, S. B., 637.
 School of Painting, 637; of Sculpture, 637.
 Schout Fiscal, 20, 77.
 Schultz, Jackson S., 613.
 Schutter's Island, 104.
 Schuyler, Peter, 119, 123, 224.
 ——— Philip, 237, 245.
 ——— Fort, 188.
 Sconce, 74.
 Scott, John Morin, 194, 219.
 ——— Captain, 60.
 Scudder's Museum, 330, 405.
 Sea Mew, The, a ship, 20.
 Sears, Isaac, a leader of the Sons of Liberty, 201.
 Seguine, Joseph, 376.
 Seigneuries, 21.
 Senate, first meeting of the, 292.

- Senecas, 103, 124, 139.
 Seneca Chief, the first canal-boat, 390.
 Seventh Regiment, 374, 617.
 Seawant, see Wampum.
 Seymour, Horatio, 498, 545.
 Shaera Straat, see Broadway.
 Shakespeare Tavern, 488-490.
 Sharpe, Rev. John, 131.
 Sheldon's Dragoons, 301.
 Sherman, Roger, 292, 303, 489.
 Shoe and Leather Bank, 603.
 Shoemaker's Land, 90.
 Simonson, Daniel, carries the mail from Staten Island to New York on the ice, 376.
 Sims, Doctor J. M., founds the State Woman's Hospital, 537.
 Singerson, Auguste Louis de, 428-430.
 Sing Sing, 466, 501.
 Sirius, a steamship, 325.
 Six Nations, treaty with the, 124.
 — Nations, 127, 165.
 Slave Market at the foot of Wall Street, 149.
 — Trade, History of, 147-151.
 Sloop Banck (Bunk), 19, 75.
 Sloat Lane, 404, 419.
 Sloughter, Colonel Henry, Governor of New York, 118, 142.
 Small-Pox, 159.
 "Small Citizenship," record of, 57.
 Smith, William, 132, 134, 194, 220, 242-262.
 — T., 219.
 — Doctor, 234.
 — Peter, 274.
 — Richard, 103.
 — Colonel W. S., 309.
 — Colonel, 498.
 Smit's Valey, 97.
 Smuggling abolished, 49.
 Snake Hill, N. J., 361.
 Society Library, N. Y., 131, 345, 649.
 — for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents, 638.
 Soldiers' (Martyrs') Monument, 515.
 Sons of Liberty, 192, 199, 200, 206, 207, 212, 216, 224, 225, 243.
 South Street, 29, 192, 480, 481.
 — River, 35, 42, 52.
 Southberg, a ship, 19, 24, 28.
 Spain, 24, 50.
 Spotswood, Governor, 127.
 Spring Street Church, 462, 463.
 — Street, 342, 463.
 — Street Market, 378.
 Spuyten Duyvel, 192.
 Stadt Huys (City Hall) of New Amsterdam, 37, 68, 89.
 Stage Boats first introduced, 186.
 — Line started from New York to Philadelphia, 187.
 Stages first run between New York and Albany, 183.
 — line extended to Utica, 188.
 Stamp Act, 195, 199, 200, 202, 203, 206-208, 210, 211, 213, 227, 238, 239.
 Stanwix, Fort (Rome), 139, 344.
 Staple Right granted, 26.
 Star Chamber, 137.
 "Stars and Stripes," The, displaces the British Standard, 273.
 Staten Island, 48, 55, 67, 97, 122, 182, 376, 474, 537.
 — Island and Bergen Ferry established, 185.
 States-General, the Dutch, 15, 17, 23, 34, 46.
 State Right, 51.
 — Arsenal, 457, 530.
 — Street, 92, 125, 318.
 — Prisoners, 378.
 Steadman, the historian, 252.
 Steam navigation, 345.
 Steamer, the first, the *Clermont*, constructed under Fulton's nominal superintendence, 351, 352.
 Steddiford, Captain, 299.
 Steenwyck, Cornelis, 57, 61.
 Steenwyck's Orchard, 93.
 Steeregraft, 92.
 Steuben, Baron, 235, 304, 312, 441.
 Stevenson, Doctor J., 360.
 Stevens, Doctor, 234.
 — Horatio G., 327.
 — Colonel John, 355, 386, 461.
 Stewart, A. T., 232, 603.
 Stirling, General Lord, 247, 489.
 — Lady, 303.
 Stoffelson, Jacob, of Pavonia, one of the Twelve Men, 25.
 Stokes, Captain, 299.
 — James, 608.
 — Edward S., shoots James Fisk, Jr., 634.
 Stone, Colonel William L., 282, 321, 389, 390, 413, 419, 432, 498, 507, 508, 638.
 — Mrs., 490.
 — Street, 30, 92, 93, 481, 509, 510.
 Stoneall, J. C. (Alderman), keeps the Shakespeare Tavern, 492.
 Strycker, J. Gerritsen, 57.
 Stuart, R. L., 608.
 Sturges, Jonathan, 608.
 Stuyvesant, Governor Peter, 48, 49, 50, 55, 56, 60, 62, 65.
 — Mrs., wife of Governor, 148.
 — Pear-tree, 596.
 Stuyvesant's "Bowerie," 93.
 Saaendael, 26.
 Sub-Treasury, 507.
 Suckanhook sucki, 33.
 Suffolk County, 118.

- Sullivan, General, 247.
 Sumpter, General, 416.
 Swamp, The, 90, 91.
 Swart, Jacob, 94.
 Swartwout, Captain, 299.
 Swedes, their connection with the early history of America, 42.
 Sweden, 42, 289.
 Sweeney, Peter B., 620.
 Syracuse, 391.

 TABERNACLE, New York, 494.
 Tailor, Colonel, 129.
 Talcott, a Mr., holds a conversation with "Ready Money" Provost, 488.
 Talleyrand, 422.
 Tallmadge, F. A., 528.
 Tamkill, 83.
 Tammany organization, 328-330.
 ——— Frauds, etc., exposure of, 618-635.
 ——— Hall, 336.
 ——— Museum, 330.
 Tammanund, the Patron Saint of Tammany, history of, 328.
 "Tap," The, 487.
 Tappan, Gov. Kieft sends sloops to, 36.
 ——— Lewis, 461.
 ——— Arthur, 461.
 Taverns, Licenses for, first issued, 51.
 Tavern, the first erected in New Netherland, 37.
 Tayler, Asher, 375, 456, 483.
 Taylor, Jeremy, 654.
 "Tea Water Pump," The, in Chatham Street, 500, 573.
 Temple, Sir John, 236.
 Teunissen, Jan., 98, 101.
 Thames Street, 165, 264.
 Thayendagea (Joseph Brant), 415.
 Thirtieth Street, 613.
 Thirty-first Street, 348.
 Thirty-sixth Street, 93.
 Thomson, Charles, 293.
 Thompson, Launt, a sculptor, 637.
 Ticonderoga, Fort, 214, 593.
 "Tiger" and "Fortune," two Dutch ships, 14.
 Tilden, S. J., 629.
 Tillary, Doctor, 425.
 Tombs, The, 12, 271.
 Tompkins Square, 335.
 ——— Daniel D. 374, 379.
 Tontine Coffee House, history of, 318, 319-327.
 ——— Hotel Association (Fifth Ward), 320.
 Town Hall, 171.
 Townsend, Robert C., 466.
 Trading Charter, 15.
 Treaty of Peace between the States General and Great Britain, 68.
 Treaty of Peace between United States and Great Britain, 272.
 ——— with Indians, 47.
 Trenton, Battle of, 295.
 Tribune Building, 337; threatened by rioters, 542.
 Trinity Church, 68, 83, 121, 166, 252, 333.
 ——— Church Riot, 359-365.
 ——— Place, 600.
 Troup, Robert, 287, 341.
 Tromp, Admiral, 54.
 Troy, N. Y. 186.
 Trumbull, John, 587.
 Tryon, Governor William, 231, 237, 240, 244, 245, 257, 265.
 Tucker, Thomas Tudor, 292.
 Tuliva Mico, 329.
 Turk's Head, London, compared with the Shakespeare Tavern, 488, 491, 492.
 Tweed, William M., 613, 620, 629.
 Twenty-third Street, 609.
 Tyng, Rev. Dr., 170.

 ULSTER COUNTY, 114, 136.
 Union Bank, 603.
 ——— Square, 335, 514, 657.
 ——— Hotel, 341.
 ——— League Club, 613.
 ——— of New England Colonies, 239.
 United Colonies, The, resist the execution of the Tea Duties, 240.
 ——— New Netherland Company, 16, 21.
 ——— Provinces, 35, 53.
 ——— States Sanitary Commission, 628.
 ——— States Navy Yard, Brooklyn, 335.
 University of New York, 466, 507.
 Utica, 188.
 Utrecht, Peace of, 126, 132.
 Ury, John, a priest and school-master, implicated in the Negro Plot, 151.

 VALENTINE, DAVID T., 126, 152, 640.
 Van Birkel, Mr., 441.
 Van Burgh, Jan Gillesson, 56.
 ——— Johannes Pietersen, 57.
 ——— Karl, 57.
 Van Cortlandt, Stephanus, first native-born Mayor of N. Y., 107, 117.
 ——— Gen. Philip, conducts Lafayette to the chair of Louis XVI., 356.
 Van Couwenhoven, Jacob, 57.
 ——— Pieter, 57.
 Van Dam, Rip, 76, 91, 132, 133.
 Van Dyck, Captain, 298.
 Van Eeke, Domine, 95.
 Van Horne, Gerrit, 140.
 ——— Major, 299.
 Van Der Huyghens, Schout Fiscal, 46, 48.
 Van Rensselaer, General Stephen, 399, 408.

- Van Rensselaer, Johannes, the first patroon, 44.
 ——— Killian, 25.
 Van Schaick, Henry, 206, 219.
 ——— Peter, 219.
 Van Tienhoven, Cornelis, 32.
 ——— Mrs., 57.
 Van Twiller, Wouter, Governor, 24, 27, 32, 43, 24, 25, 26, 27, 43, 92.
 Van Vorst, Anna, 270.
 ——— Hooper C., 270, 649.
 Van Wyck, Laurisen Cornelisen, 57.
 Van Zye, Captain, 67.
 Vanderbilt, John, 376.
 Vandercliff's Orchard (John Street), 89, 90.
 Vandergrist and Van Dyck, 92.
 Vanderlyn, the pupil of Stuart, 516.
 Vandewater Street, 471.
 Varennes, Baron De, 422.
 Varick, Richard, 322.
 ——— Street, 13, 462, 463, 464, 609.
 Vasseur, Auguste L., Secretary to Lafayette, 379.
 Venerable Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 252.
 Vergennes, Count De, 431.
 Verhulst, William, 20.
 Verplanck, Gulian, 139, 272, 318, 321, 336.
 ——— Gulian C. 272, 345, 420-455.
 Vesey Street, 355.
 Vessels, Toll levied on, 45.
 Vigné, Jean, 96.
 Virginia, 11, 15, 16, 31, 35, 49, 110, 222.
 Virtue & Yorston, house of, 636, 637.
 "Vlackte," The, or Flat, 91.
 Vly Market (Market in the Marsh), 89, *note*.
 Volkertsen, Captain, 14.

 WALDRON, W. J., 330.
 Wales, Prince of, visits New York, 538.
 ——— Coast of, 48.
 Walker Street, 529, 603.
 Wallace, Hugh, 221.
 Walloons, 18, 22.
 Wall Street, 24, 68, 115, 117, 165, 231, 263, 264, 272, 318, 336, 344, 419, 421, 425, 471, 476, 477, 480, 481, 482.
 ——— Street Church, 420.
 Walphat's Meadow, 91.
 Walton, Jacob, 221.
 Wampum, Servant, or Zeawant, taken as the standard of value, and used as currency, 29, 31, 36, 38, 42, 64, 77.
 Wardell, Robert, 170.
 Ward's Island, bodies from the Potter's Field removed to, 537.
 Ward, John Q. A., a sculptor, 637.

 Warren, Admiral Sir Peter, 150, 153, 167, 271, 590.
 ——— Mansion, Old, history destruction of, 590.
 ——— Street, 153, 612.
 ——— Joseph, 229.
 War of 1812, 367-370, 516.
 Washington, General George, 166, 244, 245, 247, 249, 272, 281, 291, 294-317.
 ——— Lady, 315-317
 ——— Hotel, 152.
 ——— Medal, 417.
 ——— Parade Ground, 14, 335, 466, 537.
 ——— Street, 463.
 ——— Fort, 250, 255.
 ——— a steam-boat, 393.
 ——— Monument, 514.
 Watch House, 336.
 Water Gate, 89.
 ——— Street, 29, 87, 88, 92, 231, 318, 344, 472, 473, 477, 480, 481.
 Watkins, Rev. Hezekiah, 137.
 Watts, Hon. John (Recorder), 271, 284, 318.
 ——— Mary, marries Sir John Johnson, 271.
 Watt, James, 349.
 Way-house, 88.
 Wayland, Francis, gives an account as an eye-witness of the reception of the news of Peace by the citizens of New York, 369.
 Wayman, William, 136, 276.
 Webster, Noah, 287, 422.
 ——— Daniel, 412.
 Weed, Thurlow, 352, 390.
 Weehawken Duelling Ground, 348.
 Weeks, Ezra, keeps the City Hotel, 308, 342.
 ——— Levi, nephew of Ezra Weeks, tried for the murder of Miss Sands, 342.
 Weigh-house, 88.
 Weir, Robert W., an artist, 416.
 Wellington, Duke of, 601.
 Westchester County, 148, 504.
 Westfield, disastrous explosion of the, 635.
 West Indies, 59, 166.
 ——— India Company, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 25, 27, 31, 36, 42, 45, 50, 58, 59, 63, 83, 103.
 Westminster, 68.
 ——— Abbey, 374.
 Wesley Chapel, 211, 420.
 Westphalia, 93.
 West Point, 352.
 Wetmore, Prosper M., 348, 388, 463, 483.
 Wey, Captain, 14, 18, 20.
 White Conduit House, 340.

- White Street, 457, 604.
 Whitehall, N. Y., the funeral cortege of
 Gen. Montgomery halts at, 373.
 ——— Street, 24, 30, 87, 88, 92, 125.
 Whitefield, Rev. George, 420.
 Wieringen Shoals, 98.
 Wignell, an actor at John St. Theatre,
 338.
 Wiley, William, 201.
 Willett, Colonel M., 318, 328, 344.
 Willoe, Captain, 260.
 William Street, 90, 92, 93, 115, 404, 421,
 422, 472, 474, 480, 481.
 ——— and Mary, 141.
 Williamsburgh, 356.
 Willis, Nathaniel P., 636.
 Willy, Noe, 91.
 Windmill Hill, 339.
 Winthrop, Governor, 31, 43.
 Wolfe, General, 374.
 Wolfert's Valley, 91.
 Woodbridge, N. J., early stages run to,
 186.
 Wood Creek, 139.
 Woodhull, Caleb S., 520.
 Wooley, Rev. Charles, 105.
 Wooster Street, 342, 609.
 World's Fair, 528.
 Worth, General W. J., monument to, 516.
 Wren, Sir Christopher, 601.
 YAMOYDEN, a poem, 490.
 Yellow Fever, 122, 330-332, 377-379.
 York, James, Duke of, 60.
 Young Men's Christian Association of
 New York City, its aims, etc.,
 606-609, 638.
 Young, Thomas, 408.
 ZABRISKIE, Alderman, 384.
 Zantberg Hills, The, 93.
 Zantzinger, Captain, 397.
 "Zealandia" (Wall and William Streets),
 92.
 Zealand, 95.
 Zeawant, see Wampum.
 Zelo, Tzarzko, 436.
 Zenger, John Philip, 133, 134, 135, 136.

F8515.84

